FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-95-229
Wednesday
29 November 1995

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-95-229 *29 November 1995*

CONTENTS

NOTICE: This volume contains a representative selection of material previously disseminated in softcopy format.

ALBANIA

PS Said 'Flirting' With Serbian Ruling Party *[RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE 26 Nov]* 1
Ceka Claims Berisha 'Retreating From Reality' *[GAZETA SHQIPTARE 22 Nov]* 1
Socialist Party Member Calls Nano Trial 'Farce' *[ZERI I POPULLIT 28 Nov]* 2
Telecommunications Privatization Bill Amended *[GAZETA SHQIPTARE 24 Nov]* 2
Progress of Privatization Process Examined *[REPUBLIKA 21 Nov]* 3

BULGARIA

Russians Ready To Finance Belene, Kozloduy Plants *[DUMA 27 Nov]* 4
Kozloduy Repair Completed; Inspections Continue *[Sofia Radio]* 4
BSP Predicts Zhelev Not To Win Reelection *[Sofia Radio]* 4
People's Union Leaders Support Zhelev for 2d Term *[TRUD 20 Nov]* 5

CZECH REPUBLIC

Klaus: Joining OECD 'Great Leap Forward' *[Prague Radio]* 6
Free Democrats, LSNS Join Forces *[PRAGUE POST 5 Sep]* 7
France To Help Farmers Become More Competitive *[PRAGUE POST 5 Sep]* 7

SLOVAKIA

Kovac Justifies Decision To Sign Language Law *[Bratislava Radio]* 9
Foreign Minister Interviewed on OECD Membership *[Bratislava Radio]* 9
Foreign Policy Orientation Outlined *[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA 22 Nov]* 10
Meciar Addresses EU Parliamentary Committee *[NARODNA OBRODA 24 Nov]* 13
ZMENA: CIA Started 'Campaign' Against Meciar *[ZMENA 28 Nov]* 14
HZDS Official Urges West To Accept Meciar *[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA 24 Nov]* 16
HZDS Paper Portrays Kovac as Loyal Ex-Communist *[Editorial Report]* 17
KDH Chairman Discusses Slovak Situation, Future *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 23 Nov]* 18
SME Identifies Cars Linked to Kovac Jr Case *[SME 24 Nov]* 18
Press Warns of Dangers to Academic Freedom *[Editorial Report]* 19

HUNGARY

Kovacs on Country's 'Commitment' to NATO *[AFP]* 21
OSCE To Prepare, Monitor Elections in Bosnia *[Budapest Radio]* 21
Orban 'Surprised' by EU Stance on Language Law *[Budapest Radio]* 21
Privatization Minister Comments on Budget, Bokros *[UJ MAGYARORSZAG 25 Nov]* 21
MSZP's Csintalan Announces Intention To Resign *[NEPSZABADSAG 24 Nov]* 22
Constitutional Court Chairman Defends Rulings *[Budapest TV]* 23

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Izetbegovic Urges NATO To Arrest War Criminals *[AFP]* 24
Karadzic 'Fully' Supports Clinton Troop Plan *[TANJUG]* 24
Serbs Voice Determination Over Sarajevo Issue *[Banja Luka TV]* 24

Sarajevo Authorities Urge Serbs To Cooperate *[Sarajevo Radio]* 25
Sarajevo Serbs To Send Milosevic Petition *[SRNA]* 25
Plavsic on Pledge To Build Serb Sarajevo *[NASA BORBA 27 Nov]* 25
Serb Ruling Party Discusses Dayton Results *[Pale TV]* 26
Serb Expert Views Results of Dayton Talks *[Banja Luka TV]* 27
SDS Committee Says Parts of Accord 'Inhumane' *[Banja Luka Radio]* 28
Serb Opposition Member: 'Recess' Before New War *[TELEGRAF 23 Nov]* 28
Pale Serbs To Sue Media Over 'Smear Campaign' *[AFP]* 29
Pale Serb Opposition Supports Accord 'Absolutely' *[Radio Krajina]* 29
Heads of Serb Wartime Presidencies View Plan *[Banja Luka TV]* 30
Bosnian Serb Trade Unions Support Dayton Accord *[TANJUG]* 30
Electoral Defeat for Karadzic's SDS Predicted *[NASA BORBA 27 Nov]* 30
Serbs Claim Croat Attacks in Posavina Area *[TANJUG]* 31
Bosnian Croats' Prlic on Implementing Peace Plan *[Zagreb Radio]* 32
Mostar Mayor Discusses Town's Prospects *[LJILJAN 15 Nov]* 32
Poll Suggests Majority Supports Dayton Accord *[Editorial Report]* 34
Commentary Says Brcko May Cause Another War *[OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) 23 Nov]* 34
Commentary Protests 'Proposal for Disarmament' *[LJILJAN 22 Nov]* 36
Turkey's Ciller, Izetbegovic Hold News Conference *[Ankara TV]* 38
Leaders Discuss Reconstruction *[Sarajevo Radio]* 38
Turkey Prepared To Help Train Army *[AFP]* 39
Turkey, Bosnia, Croatia Form Regional Police *[Zagreb Radio]* 39
IMF Offers Advice on National Bank, Currency *[Sarajevo Radio]* 40

CROATIA

Barricades Set Up To Stop Anti-Dayton Protests *[AFP]* 41
Granic on Procedure in Case of Prevlaka Exchange *[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA 26 Nov]* 41
Zagreb Radio Reports Conditions in E. Slavonia *[Zagreb Radio]* 42
UN: Some 2,000 Serbs Could Die From Cold *[AFP]* 43
Tudjman's Office on Talks With Bildt *[Zagreb Radio]* 43
Commentary Views Peace as 'Big Business Deal' *[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA 23 Nov]* 44
Commentary Sees Bosniaks as Losers From Dayton *[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA 25 Nov]* 45
Tudjman Receives Iranian Foreign Minister *[Zagreb Radio]* 47

THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

Prime Minister Views Reforms, Gligorov Attack *[NOVA MAKEDONIJA 25 Nov]* 48

POLAND

Government Suspends Sanctions Against Yugoslavia *[PAP]* 54
Testing Ground To Be Let to British Troops *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 28 Nov]* 54
Polish-Ukrainian Peace Battalion To Be Formed *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 26 Nov]* 54
'Confidential Analysis' on Postcommunists in Power *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 28 Nov]* 54
Kwasniewski Aides Reportedly Trained in U.S. *[GAZETA POLSKA 30 Nov]* 55
Daily on Justice Minster's Involvement in Campaign *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 25-26 Nov]* 55
Situation of Coalition After Elections Viewed *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 28 Nov]* 56
NIK Accuses Central Bank of Impeding Inspection *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 28 Nov]* 58
Modernization of Polish Air Force Expected *[WPROST 19 Nov]* 58
Military Plans Purchases; Fate of Iryda Unknown *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 23 Nov]* 59

ROMANIA

Government Considering 'Temporary' NATO Bases *[ROMANIA LIBERA 24 Nov]* 60

Parliament Accepts Geoana as Ambassador to U.S. *[Bucharest Radio]* 60
PD Summarizes Vacaroiu's 'Bankrupt' Policy *[AZI 22 Nov]* 60
Nastase Comments on Recent PDSR Resignations *[ADEVARUL 22 Nov]* 61

SLOVENIA

SFRY Succession Teams To Discuss Dayton *[Ljubljana Radio]* 63
Drnovsek, Silajdzic Sign Statement on Cooperation *[Ljubljana Radio]* 63

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Romanian Prime Minister Winds Up Belgrade Visit *[TANJUG]* 64
Four Agreements Signed *[TANJUG]* 64
Sanctions, Dayton Discussed *[TANJUG]* 64
Cooperation Detailed *[Belgrade TV]* 65
Government, UNCHR Official Discuss Refugees *[TANJUG]* 66
Bank Governor Cited on Post-Sanction Exports *[TANJUG]* 66
Bank Head Cited on Relinking Republics *[TANJUG]* 67
Manufacturing Firm Signs Deal With Spain *[TANJUG]* 67

Serbia

SPS Relieves Jovic, Markovic, Vucelic of Duties *[Belgrade TV]* 68
SPS Reportedly Ends 'Cooperation' With JUL *[TELEGRAF 22 Nov]* 68

Montenegro

Djukanovic, Romania's Vacaroiu Discuss Cooperation *[Belgrade Radio]* 69
President, Romanian Premier Discuss Dayton *[TANJUG]* 69

Kosovo

Rugova Calls For International Administration *[Zurich BOTA SOT 29 Nov]* 69
UN Human Rights Envoy Concerned About Tensions *[AFP]* 70

PS Said 'Flirting' With Serbian Ruling Party

AU2711104695 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 26 Nov 95 p 2

[Unattributed editorial: "Albanian Socialists Meet Their Party's Founders"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday in Bucharest, the Socialist Party [PS] joined up with the Serbian Socialists and all the other former communists of the Balkans to discuss how to relieve the former Yugoslavia of sanctions. The Bucharest meeting, at which the Albanian Socialists were represented by Gramoz Ruci, that most typical example of the Albanian communist class, took as its focus the theory of the Balkan leftists about the "hegemony" of the great powers.

Why did Gramoz Ruci go to Bucharest as the PS's representative?

The answer to this is now clear. After its total failure to establish ties with any Western party or even with other reformed former communist parties of the East, such as those in Hungary and Poland, the former Albanian communists are finding their sole consolation among the former communists of the Balkans and Milosevic's communists, which still hold positions of power in their countries.

The most dangerous political aspect of this visit is that it gives an immediate entree to the ruling Serbian Socialist Party as a faithful party of peace in the region and absolves it of its historical responsibility for the four-year war. By sitting at a table with the Serbian Socialists, Ruci once again demonstrates his pathological hatred of the people of Kosova and the doctrine of Ibrahim Rugova, whom he did not succeed in murdering in 1991, when Rugova refused to lay a wreath in front of the monument to Enver Hoxha. Sitting down at a table with the Serbian Socialists at a time when this party bears the principal responsibility for the occupation of Kosova and the imposition of a police regime on more than 2 million Albanians is to accept a defeat that has not occurred; it is a disgraceful capitulation that the Albanian Socialists describe as their option for the future of the Albanian national question.

The Albanians on both sides of the border are well aware who Gramoz Ruci is and what his party stands for. This unprincipled behavior on the part of him and his party has again shown their irresponsibility for the nation and the national question. A party that has been striving for the past four years to pretty itself in Western makeup cannot resist the temptation to start flirting with its real founders, the communists of Belgrade. This rapprochement between the Albanian Socialists and the current and former communists of the Balkans is occurring at a time when the political forces of Europe and dozens of international institutions are appealing to the Albanian people not to vote for the former communists, not to trust the siren-song of totalitarianism, not to swerve from the road toward Europe on which they have embarked, and not to trade their dream of freedom for the dark and Byzantine politics of the Balkan left.

Ceka Claims Berisha 'Retreating From Reality'

AU2511145395 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 22 Nov 95 p 3

[Interview with Democratic Alliance President Neritan Ceka by "A.C."; place and date not given: "If Berisha Will Not Speak Out, Neither Will the Opposition"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—"If Berisha does not speak out, neither will the opposition," said Democratic Alliance President Neritan Ceka, commenting on Albanian political life and the absence of a constitution. The liberal-democratic leader spoke of a political crisis because of the lack of dialogue between the head of state and the opposition. Ceka implied that he is dissatisfied with the president's exclusive involvement in the affairs of the Democratic Party [PD], which, Ceka claims, has led to a visible crisis in the Albanian press.

[GAZETA SHQIPTARE] What happened to your party's initiative on the constitution?

[Ceka] Despite the opposition's efforts to edge political life forward, we cannot raise ourselves out of the stagnation created one year ago by the failure of the referendum of 6 November. There is no chance of Arbnori's little ploys making good this defeat on the great electoral battlefield. For an entire year, all the parties have been merely waiting for the elections. It seems that if Berisha will not speak out, neither will the opposition. This stand by Berisha, who holds a golden share within the PD, represents a crisis in political life and indeed the press. Political life and the press in fact miss Berisha as the principal protagonist; Berisha is retreating from reality to the sidelines.

[GAZETA SHQIPTARE] You talk about a crisis in Albanian politics. Why do you connect this with the head of state?

[Ceka] I say this because the president is mainly preoccupied with his party and lacks any opportunity for dialogue with the opposition. This dialogue takes place only through secondary and insignificant channels. The entire mechanism is a sign of incompetence, a poverty of ideas, and a lack of courage and openness. What looks like a crisis of the press in its hunger for news is in fact a crisis of Albanian politics.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[GAZETA SHQIPTARE] You identify the shortcomings of the ruling party, while the latter talks about a destructive opposition. Does that not resemble a ping-pong match?

[Ceka] Only the opposition has generated political ideas during the last year and has striven to obstruct or repair the mistaken measures of the government. Its proposals have included a roundtable for the constitution and the alternative draft text, the protection of the Court of Cassation, the electoral law aiming to balance political life, and the demand for the announcement of the 1996 election date. However, dialogue is impossible in the absence of a partner. It is not the opposition that is missing, but the state.

[GAZETA SHQIPTARE] So what is the solution?

[Ceka] I would repeat again the idea expressed a year ago of a pact among the parties for free and honest elections without inciting hatred, because calm is the most important thing of all.

Socialist Party Member Calls Nano Trial 'Farce'

AU2911073395 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 28 Nov 95 p 3

[Article by Namik Dokle: "The Free Vote of the People Will Release Nano"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Fatos Nano himself has provided the best assessment of this farce today in his letter to his lawyer, Mr. Sanxhaku, from Tepelene prison, in which he clearly calls Berisha's courtroom a political court and decides to boycott it. And, indeed, both the conduct and the verdict of the trial today show Nano to be clearly in the right. He has been equally right on each occasion when he has spoken out about the judges or prosecutors sent by Berisha to the courtrooms where not justice, but injustice is meted out, where not democracy and the law, but their opposites hold sway.

It is well known that many procurators and judges appointed by Mr. Berisha have been involved in the Nano case. We know that Berisha played "pass the parcel" in this case to the point of broad comedy. We also know that, in the end, Berisha became dissatisfied with the journey of this parcel, and, in his own name and those of Prel Martini, chairman of the Appeal Court, and Procurator General Mr. Dizdari, contrived a Tropoje-style ploy not only to keep Fatos Nano in prison but to add one year to his sentence in contradiction of the decision delivered in the summer. This is one more in the series of violations of the law at the expense of Fatos Nano, and a sequel to the parliamentary comedy that went as far as the approval of two amendments specifically against Nano. Thus, laws have been made to shore up the power of one man, and to keep another man in prison.

It is obvious to everybody why Berisha does such things. It is obvious that he is scared stiff of Fatos Nano, because Fatos Nano is Sali Berisha's most powerful political opponent. His behavior shows to what lengths Berisha-style democracy has gone in its struggle to keep the Democratic Party in power. The Socialist Party and its parliamentary group, its members and supporters, and its local government representatives are perfectly aware of Berisha's mentality and understand the measures he is trying to take on the threshold of the election campaign. We know perfectly well how he is behaving, now that he is scared of losing power. Let as many Berisha-paid foreign experts come as they like. As soon as they understand the reality of Albania, they leave, saying "There is nothing we can do, you are going to lose." Berisha has lost and imagines that he will annoy the Socialist Party with his provocative measures in the courts and in the squares where Socialists gather and in the halls where the Eurosocialists meet. However, we are level-headed. Political forces that are sure they are heading for victory keep their cool heads. We are not waiting for Berisha to release Fatos Nano. The people will release him with their free vote, because their votes will establish the independence of the judiciary and will revive the democratic aspirations of December [1990].

Telecommunications Privatization Bill Amended

AU2611195795 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 24 Nov 95 p 3

[Report by "Il. Al.": "Telecommunications in Private Hands"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A part of our telecommunications is to be placed in private hands. The submitted bill underwent changes in a parliamentary debate yesterday, and the Democratic Party parliamentary group had to assemble for 45 minutes to discuss it. After criticism by the Industry Commission, Deputy Genc Ruli was obliged to intervene to make a further amendment. Ruli said that "it is necessary to create a special regulating body to mediate between the state and the firms who will have the right to operate in this field."

According to the bill, a single directorate will be both administrator and regulator of the relations between the operator and the state. Following discussion and consultation, Ruli's first proposal was accepted. However, Ruli, in his role as chairman of the Commission for the Economy and Finance, felt that this was not an end to the necessary changes. He said, "It is absolutely vital for the government to be able to remove an operator's license when its activities threaten national interests."

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

The bill envisages that every operator responsible for the telecommunications system will guarantee freedom and privacy of communication. The law also defines who may become a public operator, either privately or with joint public ownership. Under the law, anybody can install a public telephone operated by coins, credit cards, or prepaid cards if the operator finds his offer economically feasible.

Progress of Privatization Process Examined

AU2211174395 Tirana REPUBLIKA in Albanian 21 Nov 95 p 3

[Report by B. Permeti: "How Much of Albania Is in Private Hands?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In 1991, parliament approved the law "On Privatization," which became the basis of all the privatization carried out in Albania and at the same time marked the expiry of the centralized economic system that had made citizens equal in destitution. As improved in 1992, the law permitted all kinds of work to be done privately and above all confirmed the birth of a new capitalist class. The law entrusted the task of privatization to the National Privatization Agency, a separate institution directly responsible to the Council of Ministers, and to the individual ministries. After the amendment of the law in 1993, these institutions were given the full right, and indeed the duty, to determine how privatization was to be carried out, and everything inherited from the past was left in their hands. The People's Assembly merely kept to itself the right to sell land to foreigners and the privatization of sectors of strategic importance such as mines, telecommunications, and electricity. After almost five years of privatization, 71 percent of the national wealth is now in private hands. The most recent statistics of the Council of Ministers show that the number of active private enterprises has reached 60,551, of which 84 percent are in the hands of individuals, while 16 percent are legal entities.

Of these legal entities, 68 percent are Albanian firms, and 16 percent are joint enterprises. These together make up the new genuinely capitalist class in Albania, which will have a monopoly of the Albanian economy. Eleven percent of enterprises belong to foreigners, who will integrate the Albanian economy into the framework of the Western economic monopoly.

Tirana, the country's capital, has the lion's share of this private enterprise. In October 1995, it accounted for 25 percent of the country's private enterprises. This future metropolis will be transformed into a hub of the economy.

Statistics also show that Albania's capitalist development has been concentrated on the country's major towns. A further 38 percent of enterprises are based in the districts of Durres, Elbasan, Fier, Korce, Shkoder, and Vlore, and other districts of the country are left with only the remaining 37 percent. This change has also shifted the balance between the rural and urban populations. Urbanization is a fundamental feature of capitalism. Registers show that 237,000 people are employed in private enterprises. However, sources still not made official because of the rules of the game in the black economy confirm that the number may in fact be larger.

The lack of effective legislation to eliminate all the anomalies in the registration of workers and in relations between employers and their employees are the weakest point in the state's supervision of the full introduction of capitalism in Albania.

One further phenomenon is that 73 percent of the newly created enterprises have only one employee. This is because trade and services predominate in Albania, and 85 percent of the newly created enterprises are in these sectors. A study undertaken by the Council of Ministers shows that 55 percent of enterprises are engaged in retail trade and have in their hands 58 percent of the monetary capital that is in circulation in Albania. The year 1995 saw the arrival of the first 80 enterprises with more than 100 workers, and two companies with more than 5,000. All these trends have inevitably changed significantly the structure of property ownership. Today, 61 percent of property is private and 39 percent is in public hands. Since August 1994, when the National Privatization Agency approved its privatization strategy for 1994- 96, which outlined the principles for Albania's total privatization, the nostrum that "anything in the world can be private" has been a guarantee for our economy's natural self-renewal. Foreign specialists have recommended urgent privatization as the only way of saving our economy. As a rule, they have said, "Restructuring and investment in enterprises will come after privatization."

Nevertheless, the privatization of agricultural land remained the keystone of the process. It has been officially admitted only in 1995 that "the process of land privatization is extremely difficult." This was because of the failure to approve an up-to-date law restoring land to its owners. In its stead, a halfway house was chosen. When it became evident that this obstructed full privatization, the law was amended piecemeal.

Nevertheless, total privatization cannot be carried out in five years, but requires a period of time.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Russians Ready To Finance Belene, Kozloduy Plants

AU2911133195 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 27 Nov 95 p 5

[DUMA PRESS report: "Russian Government Prepared To Finance Kozloduy, Belene Nuclear Power Stations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Russian Government is prepared to allocate credits for the completion of the Belene nuclear power station and the reconstruction of the Kozloduy nuclear power station, Viktor Kozlov, "Atomenergoexport" representative, said at the end of his visit to Bulgaria. The agreement on financing had already been reached during the visit of Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin to Bulgaria, but has not been officially announced. Mr. Kozlov said that the necessary means and the volume of the forthcoming work have been calculated by the chiefs of "Atomenergoexport" and "Zarubezhatomenergostroy" and leaders of our Committee on Power Supply. His report on the necessary investment will be ready by the beginning of 1996. Afterward we will prepare the specific credit proposals, which must be discussed at governmental level, Mr. Kozlov said.

I do not think that any unsurmountable difficulties will emerge because in the spring the Russian Government already decided in principle to discuss the credit issue, he said. However, according to him, it would be impossible to reach a specific agreement at the session of the Joint Bulgarian-Russian Commission on Trade and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, which was postponed until December. Mr. Kozlov thinks that at that session the sides will only be able to discuss the current situation. The form and scope of the credits will be decided at the beginning of 1996 by authorized representatives of the governments. During the past week we had many meetings and met many responsible people who manage Bulgaria's power supply, Mr. Kozlov said. We went over with them ways of financing the two nuclear power stations. In addition to the Russian Government, many Russian banks are also interested in the issue, he said. At the end of 1995 or the beginning of 1996 a meeting will be organized between representatives of Russian commercial banks and our power supply experts. The main thing is to understand that, without the financing we are prepared to ensure, it would be difficult to effect the construction of the Belene nuclear power station and the modernization of the Kozloduy nuclear power station, the "Atomenergoexport" chief thinks.

Kozloduy Repair Completed; Inspections Continue

AU2911105995 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The repair of the water leak in the second circuit of the Kozloduy Nuclear Plant second reactor has been completed. After completing the startup operations the reactor will be reconnected to the national grid this evening.

The experts of the Committee on Peaceful Use of Atomic Energy, the authority that issues the permit for restarting the reactor, have begun their inspection of the 1,000-megawatt [MW] fifth reactor. At the same time, the International Atomic Energy Agency is conducting the regular inspection of the fourth reactor.

The first, third, and sixth reactors are currently operating at maximum capacity and producing a total of 1,750 MW of electric power, our correspondent Veronika Pantaleeva reports.

BSP Predicts Zhelev Not To Win Reelection

AU2211075195 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 21 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The regular weekly news conference of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] took place in Sofia on 21 November. The victory of the leftist forces at the Polish presidential elections was described as a crucial event in East Europe.

We will not greet the 21st century with the current president, Miroslav Popov, member of the BSP Executive Bureau, said commenting on the announcement made by the Bulgarian President Zhelev that he intends to run for reelection.

The results of the municipal elections were analyzed at the BSP Executive Bureau meeting. The BSP won 196 mayorships and 3,291 seats in municipal councils. The BSP and its coalition have an absolute majority in 125 municipalities.

During the current week the Democratic Left parliamentary faction will insist on discussing at the National Assembly the draft bill on amendments and addenda to the Privatization Bill, the two draft bills on leasing agrarian land, proposed by the Council of Ministers and the People's Union, and the draft bill on the official coat of arms of the Republic of Bulgaria.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

People's Union Leaders Support Zhelev for 2d Term

AU2511194095 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 20 Nov 95 p 9

[Interview with Stefan Savov of the Democratic Party and Anastasiya Mozer of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, cochairmen of the People's Union, by an unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "Only Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev Can Defend Democracy in Bulgaria"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [TRUD] On the "Panorama" television program on the evening of 18 November, Dr. Zhelev announced that he would run for a second term as president. Were you surprised at this, and will you support his candidature?

[Savov] I was not surprised because Filip Dimitrov and other SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] figures have already spoken out strongly several times about the presidential elections. I cannot speak on behalf of the People's Union, but the Central Office of the Democratic Party adopted a decision on 17 November to support Dr. Zhelev if he decided to run. We consider that, at the moment, Zhelyu Zhelev is the politician best able to defend democracy in Bulgaria. I believe that Mrs. Mozer has already expressed the same opinion.

[Mozer] Mr. Savov and I believe that, at present, Dr. Zhelev is the most suitable figure able to attract the combined votes of many Bulgarian citizens. Personally, I think he has won immense authority abroad, while his rating in Bulgaria is consistently high. For the time being, there is no alternative.

[TRUD] What do you think about the idea proposed by Stefan Sofiyanski [SDS mayor of Sofia] of "a president from the SDS and a vice president from the People's Union"?

[Savov] I regard this idea as counterproductive. Whether his intentions were good or had a political goal in view, this variant will only lead to a split. I cannot overcome my suspicion that certain people are putting all their efforts into driving a wedge between us and destroying the People's Union. I hope that the BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union] will soon state its view on this matter, after which we can issue a joint statement on behalf of the People's Union.

[Mozer] For us to have common candidates, talks should be held before coming out with public statements. Last week Filip Dimitrov invited me to coffee and told me almost the same things that were published later in the press (that Zhelev has no chance, that only half of the SDS electorate would vote for him, and that the future president must be an SDS man—editor's note). He also hinted at the proposal that Sofiyanski announced. This makes me think that the SDS leadership is already discussing the presidential elections, and Filip Dimitrov was sounding out the ground. However, when anyone makes such proposals, he should first pave the way. Before it announces whom it will support in the presidential elections, the People's Union will ask for an official meeting with Dr. Zhelev. Apart from this, the BZNS Governing Council is to meet on 9 and 10 December, and this issue will also be discussed there.

[TRUD] The People's Union was the only political formation to improve its results at the local elections. Do you now have some idea of the composition of your electorate?

[Savov] It is true that the People's Union increased its vote not by a few percent, but twofold. I think that our electorate is gradually beginning to take shape. Of course, in the first place it comprises the traditional electorates of the BZNS and Democratic Party. However, I believe that our call for greater tolerance, a more constructive approach, and less sharp confrontation is attracting more and more people. Our line makes it possible for many people to join us who at the moment keep away from politics. In addition, I think that the only place for the Radical Democratic Party is within the People's Union because it represents liberal ideas and is also a traditional Bulgarian party.

[Mozer] The election results prove that even with our lack of access to the media and our shortage of funds, the Bulgarian voter knows about us and is more confident in choosing to vote for us. This is a plus for our coalition's future, but no grounds for us to be complacent like the BSP and the SDS.

[TRUD] Yet the BSP won the local elections quite convincingly....

[Savov] Yes, the situation is very dangerous for democracy, because if one excludes the handful of large towns, the BSP won throughout the country. However, the Socialists failed to expand their territory from what they won in the parliamentary elections, so it may be said that the leftist wave has been broken. This gives me reason to say that things are beginning to take a new turn. [passage omitted]

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Klaus: Joining OECD 'Great Leap Forward'

LD2811225995 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1720 GMT 28 Nov 95

["Regular Tuesday interview" with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Lucie Weissova on 28 November; place not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Weissova] Prime Minister, the two of us have frequently talked about the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD], but I think we should mention it again today because, on this day, [Foreign] Minister Zieleniec is signing an agreement in Paris on entry into this club of the most advanced countries of the world. What does this day mean to you?

[Klaus] What it means to me is one thing, but what is important is what it means for all of us. I think it is further recognition, and probably the most significant so far, of what the Czech Republic has achieved in the past six years. I have a feeling that we underestimate the importance of this.

Yesterday I had dinner with U.S. Ambassador Walker, who told me that today, in a little while, she would be giving me a personal letter from President Clinton congratulating us on this occasion. It really is a great leap forward, and I think we really had no idea it could be this way.

I have a personal recollection regarding an initiative of my own, another step of this kind, in that from January-February to September 1990 I did everything I could to ensure that we were among the first to join the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank and that we did so quickly and in as short a time as possible. We were successful in that.

I think this is the second thing we have embarked upon. In January of last year, when it was clear that entry into the European Union and NATO were becoming more distant prospects, I tried to apply maximum pressure over this past year and a half and it has worked.

[Weissova] When you talk about entry into the European Union or NATO, do you think that OECD membership could somehow help us gain entry into these other organizations?

[Klaus] Not directly. In the sense that one thing could imply another, definitely not, but indirectly it undoubtedly could because, when you become a member of a particular group of countries, you meet them more frequently. They start to become better acquainted with you.

The OECD is also very important in that, for example, it has an enormous analytical and information department. World statistics are generally divided into OECD countries and others, so the Czech Republic is getting itself into this group of countries, and I think that is extremely important because up to now it has always been the case that, when economic and other results are discussed, the OECD countries appear on the one hand and then there are the others. Today we have made it there.

[Weissova] Let us return now to the domestic political scene. The coalition cannot reach agreement on a date for the Senate elections. On the one hand, the ODS [Civic Democratic Party] and the KDS [Christian Democratic Party] want the elections to be held at the same time as the elections to the Chamber of Deputies, while ODA [Civic Democratic Alliance] and the KDU-CSL [Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party] would prefer to hold them in the fall. What will happen if you do not reach agreement?

[Klaus] You are asking too far in advance. I think we have to make a decision, and, according to our legislation, the president calls elections on the basis of a government proposal. I must add that my signature is there, too. So I think that, even if we do not reach 100-percent agreement, it is undoubtedly the responsibility of the government to make a decision in this respect. [Interior] Minister Ruml, who is by definition concerned with this matter, has already submitted material of this nature. I am the only one blocking it and not letting it through to the Cabinet because I would very much like us to gain broader consensus about this material than mere declarations one way or the other. I think it is completely self-evident that, for financial reasons, and not only financial in the strictest sense of the word, it would be unwise to hold two elections in one year. I cannot defend that, and no one in the world could explain to me that it would be better for us to go into two elections in one year with all that elections bring with them. Even if I stood on my head I could not imagine that there might be any sensible argument to support this.

The other thing that bothers me to no lesser degree—I would say at the end of the day that it bothers me perhaps even more than the first—is that I know very well that elections mean great excitement, great unease, and a major block on the work of the executive over many months. [passage omitted]

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Free Democrats, LSNS Join Forces

95CH0360A Prague PRAGUE POST in English 5 Sep 95 p 9

[Article by Daniel Kumermann: "Merging Centrist Parties Is a Mark of Political Maturity"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The chairmen of the Free Democrats (SD) and the Liberal National Social Party (LSNS) emerged from the Prague pub smiling. Jiri Dienstbier and Vavrinec Bodenlos announced that after two hours of discussions, the two parties are much further along the path to unification.

Current polls show that if the elections were held today, neither party would make it over the 5 percent requirement necessary for gaining a seat in parliament. Together they hope to produce a synergistic effect (or miracle, whichever is easier). If that really works and a new centrist party is eventually born, it could be an interesting development in the Czech political scene.

The two parties do have something to offer one another. On the one hand, the SD has plenty of strong, well-known and often charismatic political personalities as well as a distinction impossible to overlook: It is a direct descendant of the original Civic Forum, which led the 1989 Velvet Revolution and may claim to be the rightful heir of the liberal ideals of Charter 77—the main dissent group of communist times.

On the other hand, the LSNS, despite a tradition going back before World War I, is a rather colorless group of colorless figures. It has few leading types to offer to the public in next year's elections, but what it misses in people it can easily make up for in money. The party inherited—along with its political legacy—real estate, including two buildings in the center of Prague. That financial surplus will help the large debt the SD accumulated in the unsuccessful election campaign in 1992.

The parties should make good partners in a challenge in next year's elections. The down-to-earth membership of the LSNS will balance out the SD, which lost the 1992 elections partly because of an overintellectualized campaign. At the same time, the SD can provide the intellectual dimension that LSNS documents sometimes lack and that is necessary for showing that the party can think ahead.

According to SD and LSNS leaders, their new center-oriented party should counterbalance the two major parties that now dominate the left and right of the Czech political scene. It is quite possible that some other political groupings that claim to belong to the center will soon decide to jump aboard the new bandwagon. The reality is, however, that at this moment there are not many that seem to be both ready to do so and at the same time desirable as partners.

The way the current dealings are being carried out may also say something about the state of Czech politics. After November 1989, virtually hundreds of new political organizations sprang up as everybody felt it necessary to bring just his or her particular ideas to the market. Many of the small parties have either folded or been swallowed up by bigger ones. On a practical level, the birth of a new party could be a sign of the Czech political scene coming of age and moving in the direction in which West European politics has developed in the last 50 years.

So far so good. Joining forces is about to enrich the Free Democrats and the Liberal National Socialist Party and deliver to both just what they lack. At the same time this process may be full of deeper meanings and impacts for the whole political scene. One can but hope that the most important person here—the common voter—will see it just that way and will give his or her eventual support to the new emerging body. Five percent plus would be enough for a start. The well-known American slogan could apply here: Support your local theory.

France To Help Farmers Become More Competitive

95CH0360B Prague PRAGUE POST in English 5 Sep 95 p 5

[Article by Eva Munk: "French May Help Turn Czech Agriculture Into a Cash Crop"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] With the help of the French, Czech farmers may soon find a solution to their processing problems and become more competitive in international export markets as well.

An unidentified group of European investors is willing to front French company Semmaris "Rungis Ingeniere"/EuroAgro up to 1.5 billion francs (80.6 billion Kc) to build agricultural "hypocenters" in Ostrava and Prague for processing agricultural products grown in the Czech Republic.

The Prague site has not yet been chosen, but the Ostravskokarvinske doly mining concern has offered to donate 100 hectares (247 acres) of land outside of Ostrava for the enterprise, if studies scheduled to be finished by the end of the year indicate that the project would be effective.

The centers would include all necessary facilities for transforming raw agricultural produce into finished products. Freezing and packaging facilities and even a slaughterhouse would be concentrated in one spot, from which products would be resold and shipped to wholesalers, grocers and restaurants.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

The hypocenters are modeled on Semmaris enterprises at 16 other sites, including Paris, Rome, Madrid, Vienna, London, Berlin and Budapest; one is also planned for Bratislava. The largest of these, in Paris, sits on 232 hectares of land, holds 2,000 firms, processes an average of 2.5 million tons of produce annually and employs 18,000.

EuroAgno is a division of Semmaris. EuroAgro director Marcel Percheron said Ostrava was chosen because of its proximity to the Slovak and Polish borders.

"A few importers of agricultural products in the Czech Republic are crowding domestic producers out of the market," Percheron said. "They own all of the processing and distribution facilities. Czech consumers then have no choice but to buy their products."

By making processing and distribution available to Czech farmers, the hypocenters would make Czech products cheaper and more attractive both for consumers and for export, Percheron said.

Frantisek Jirota, assistant director of the farmer association Ceskomoravske zemedelske druzstvo, agreed: "Large-scale processing is always more efficient and cost-effective than small-scale processing. Our farmers don't have access to processing facilities unless they build them themselves from their own funds, and that means they have a smaller capacity and have a harder time competing."

But Jirota said the centers' actual usefulness would depend on other factors as well—such as the foreign investors' share and Czech consumers' buying capacity.

Czech producers are at a disadvantage [illegible]st importers, thanks to agricultural subsidies of b[illegible]n 30 percent and 75 percent that are common in most European countries, with the exception of the Czech Republic.

"We don't get a cent from the government," Jirota said. "It stands to reason that if a foreign farmer can sell his product at 80 percent of cost, thanks to a government subsidy, the importer is going to have an advantage over a Czech producer."

High protective tariffs also effectively keep Czech produce out of European markets.

"The going price for wheat is 3,700 Kc per ton," Jirota siad. "In the Czech Republic we produce it for 2,700 Kc per ton, but with the system of protective tariffs and duties, Czech wheat farmers can't compete on the foreign market."

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Kovac Justifies Decision To Sign Language Law

LD2811200295 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In the noon edition of Radiozurnal, we carried the viewpoint of Michal Kovac, president of the Republic, on the State Language Law, which was interpreted by spokesman Vladimir Stefko. Unfortunately, because of technical problems, we could not broadcast the conclusion of the viewpoint. That is why we now bring the full text as it was published by TASR.

President of the Republic Michal Kovac signed the Law on the State Language of the Slovak Republic. He decided to do so because he considers passing the law as implementation of the part of the Constitution that says the Slovak language is the state language on the territory of Slovakia. In this sense, he considers the law necessary and important.

According to Vladimir Stefko, head of the press department of the president's chancellery, the president is convinced that it is necessary to carry out the appropriate stipulations of the Constitution and to immediately pass a law on using other languages in official communication and to adjust publishing of periodicals and other press in the language of national minorities, as well as other publications in foreign languages—above all, scientific, tourist, and propaganda ones.

Michal Kovac acknowledges that the government and the chairman of the National Council agreed that a law on using minority languages in official communication would soon be presented to the National Council. He also acknowledges the assurance of the prime minister that, in a short intermediate period, up to the acceptance of the above-mentioned law, the current language laws will be implemented without the necessary implementation law, directly on the basis of Article 34 of the Constitution and the ratified framework agreement on the protection of national minorities.

The president of the Republic expects that these promises will be fulfilled. If this does not happen within a short period of time or if, up to accepting the above-mentioned law or laws there is a limitation of language rights of national minorities in practice, including publishing national press and foreign publications, the president is prepared to use his constitutional right and to present the State Language Law to the Constitutional Court, which will decide upon the conformity of the law with the Constitution.

Foreign Minister Interviewed on OECD Membership

LD2811210095 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 28 Nov 95

[Interview with Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk by Correspondent Ivan Bielko in the studio; date not given—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The Slovak Government is meeting today at its 48th session. Our colleague Ivan Bielko reports on the results of its deliberations:

[Bielko] [Passage omitted] The Cabinet has approved a draft of the updated memorandum of the Slovak Republic on the OECD's paper. [passage omitted] The memorandum linked to the Slovak application for full membership in the OECD—that is, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development—was submitted by Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk. He is joining me now in our improvised studio. [passage omitted]

[Schenk] Our updated memorandum precisely defines certain OECD recommendations and decisions that we can either fully accept or accept under some specific conditions. In a response to our updated memorandum, we expect another paper from the OECD, especially because of very important changes in the convertibility of the Slovak koruna and because of the recently adopted law on hard currency. These issues were discussed in detail during Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's talks with OECD officials.

[Bielko] OECD membership seems to be important for our economic progress.

[Schenk] As you well know, the OECD is an exclusive club of 24 states based on their top economic parameters. This is why it is extremely important for the Slovak Republic to become a member of this group, thus proving that our economy meets these high-quality economic parameters.

The process we are undergoing shows that the Slovak Republic is successful in coming closer to joining the OECD. This is also important because OECD membership is perceived as a kind of preliminary step toward our future membership in the EU. .

[Bielko] I would like to ask what the next step is after today's adoption of the updated memorandum of the Slovak Republic on the OECD paper.

[Schenk] The next step is to hand this memorandum to the [OECD] Liaison Committee on 11 December. [passage omitted] Our plan is to try to become a full

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

member of this important international organization at the beginning of 1997.

Foreign Policy Orientation Outlined

AU2811162495 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 22 Nov 95 p 10

["Extract" of an address by Slovak Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk in the National Council of the Slovak Republic on 13 November: "A Reasonable Amount of the Self-Confidence of a Sovereign State Cannot Do Us Any Harm"]

[FBIS Translated Text] I listened very carefully to the debate on my speech on the long-term objectives of Slovakia's foreign policy. It unfolded just as I had anticipated. About 90 percent of it was devoted to domestic political issues. Moreover, it unfolded in a manner whereby the majority of opposition deputies (I pay tribute to the exceptions) tried merely to cast doubt on the work of the government and the ruling coalition. Where it was impossible to cast aspersions on our achievements, evil intentions, at least, were slipped in. Categorical, of course, negative assessments were made as well as generalizations that were not supported by the facts. Assessments were substituted for the facts. The known facts were misinterpreted and other well-known means of manipulation were also applied. At the same time, all of this was beautifully wrapped in cliches and political rhetoric that was not intended to assist in the clarification of points of view, the matter-of-fact thorough discussion of the real issues, the outlining of alternatives, and so on—that is, the real purpose of the debate—but was merely a presentation of particular political interests.

Facts Against "Facts"

Within the framework of the some 10 percent of the debate that was devoted directly to foreign policy, not one factual reservation or critical observation backed up by verifiable facts was expressed about the actual course of our diplomacy either in the bilateral or multilateral sphere.

So, if it was impossible to challenge the facts with facts, then groundless negative assessments were simply made and, if even this was not enough, the pseudoargument that current Slovak foreign policy—and I quote—"has no spirit" was applied. I do not know exactly what Deputy Figel meant by this so I will not argue with him about it. I would like to give an assurance that our foreign policy does not, and will not, have the spirit that typified, for example, the Christian Democratic Movement meeting on SNP [Slovak National Uprising] Square. Instead of threats and intimidation, we really prefer a pragmatic and rational course of action, balance, respect for long-term objectives and cooperation based on partnership, mutually advantageous relations, and mutual respect and esteem.

We do not overestimate our potential and influence. We are not ashamed that we represent a small state because we have nothing to be ashamed of. We have, however, something to be proud of. We represent one of many states in the world that has its own specific features and, in many things, certainly has less potential than other states, but states are equal on the international scene and from an international-legal point of view. In the United Nations, for example, everyone has just one equal vote! A reasonable amount of the self-confidence of a sovereign state is an element of the real spirit of our foreign policy. So I will not reassure even Deputy Langos because I would rather deliver an address reminiscent of a university lecture than implement foreign policy by the methods applied in the Mosnov operation [abortive large-scale police action carried out when Langos was federal interior minister]. Or is it that Deputy Langos thinks that the issues of European integration and relations with our neighbors are—and I quote—"divorced from reality"? By the way, in the majority of the parliaments of the countries for which the deputy manifests an affinity—and I also identify with him in this—such a characterization of an address would be seen more as praise.

A Binding Orientation

The government program, which was also approved by the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NR SR], is binding; it has not been altered and will not be altered. Integration into the European and transatlantic political, economic, and security structures is the constant and priority of our foreign policy. The doubts about our orientation or some kind of "conjured up" two-facedness can only be rejected. Let us, however, argue about the other actual issues; about how to do them better, faster, and so on. Not one word was said about them in the NR SR debate.

Various views cropped up in the debate on the European Union. I do not consider this to be surprising or negative—first, because there is no debate without various views and it really is necessary to hold a debate on such a major issue, and second because the issue has been discussed, is being discussed, and will be discussed not only in the associated countries but also in the European Union's member states. We remember that there were convinced opponents of integration in all of the European Union's member states and that no one suspected them of having evil intentions. On the contrary, many governments directly supported the

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

activities of the nongovernment organizations that spoke out programmatically against entry into the European Union—simply to enable their citizens to make up their minds freely and properly. We want nothing else in the Slovak Republic. We also recall, however, the results of the referenda on entry into the European Union. In the majority of countries, these results were very close. For example, the 49 percent of French who were opposed to entry may not have pleased many people, but this was no reason to cast doubt on either the democratic nature of some of the political parties or on the country as such.

Nor was it the case in Switzerland and Norway, where entry was rejected in a referendum. Why, then, make an exception of Slovakia? Possibly because a coalition deputy makes a "pertinent" statement? Those who make such an argument know very well that the issue involves something else. We all know of a great many examples from other states, now European Union members, in which the dividing line between the Euro-optimists and Euroskeptics is drawn not only between the government and the opposition, but also within the government and the opposition. I have spoken with many government members from important West European countries who were from the same political party but who belonged to various ideological camps.

Third, the very fact that an internal debate is taking place is not an unfavorable signal that a country emits on the outside. On the contrary, it is proof that a country is really preparing for admission into an integrative structure and that it is taking it seriously.

Fourth, who can realistically expect that 100 percent of the citizens of Slovakia will express themselves positively in a referendum on entry into the European Union? And who will hold a tight—and I personally hope—positive result against Slovakia?

It is also the same in connection with Slovakia's integration into NATO. Undoubtedly, a debate is also necessary here, and the debate will have several rounds. The first round was held in 1993. The issue of our attitude toward neutrality was dealt with in it. Now, as NATO enlargement is becoming a reality, the debate as a whole is, naturally, being resumed. So, the issue of neutrality is also being resumed.

Among other things, the debate has two important conditions:

1. There must be no so-called taboo subjects.

2. A participant in the debate must have the right to err.

Therefore, please, let us debate with those who hold a different opinion. Let us convince them that we are right, but, please, let us not turn neutrality into a taboo subject—although we are aware of the illusory nature of this idea—and obstruct those who want to explain it.

Policy Without Romanticism

Pan-Slavism has also been used as an argument. I would like to express my opinion on this subject. First and foremost, some things need to be defined.

1. We belong among the Slavic nations, others belong among the Anglo-Saxon or Arabic nations, but all nations are equal.

2. The idea of Slavic mutuality, which subsequently resulted in the proclamation of the politically extreme but unrealizable concept of Pan-Slavism, evolved, as we all know, at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries and is characterized as romanticism. It is possible to seek certain cultural connections in its spirit, but it is impossible to base policy on it. The foreign policy of the Slovak Republic cannot—and does not—take any romantic element into consideration. That the idea of Slavic mutuality has never been realized in practice is another matter. The utopia that Kollar or Stur [19th century propagators of Slavic ideals] dreamed about came up against the power interests of Russian *samoderzhavie* [autocracy] and eventually also of the former Soviet Union. I do not intend to assess the twists and turns of historical development merely to state that the current Russian Federation also has power interests and that these are interests that are being taken into consideration in the world today. Slovakia does not intend to become the object of some geopolitical or geostrategic game. In issues of its own fundamental orientation, it does not recognize any veto on the part of another country, but just its own legitimate decisions. It will also make a sovereign decision on entering NATO, and the government, which is united on this issue, will continue to endorse this line thoroughly. Naturally, we expect the complete support of our Western partners in this matter.

To sum up, Slovakia geopolitically, historically, politically, economically, and culturally belongs to Central Europe and acknowledges sovereignly the values of a modern civilization. The Slovak Republic is a standard democratic Central European state that is successfully—although, of course, not smoothly and painlessly—overcoming the pitfalls of the transformation process. Therefore, allow me to state metaphorically: We are not and will not be a Euro-orphan!

A Double Standard

The demarches that arrived were received not by the government but by the whole of the Slovak Republic.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

No one in Slovakia, let alone in the government, is denying that there are domestic political problems here. The main thing, and what we are emphasizing, is that they have to be dealt with constitutionally and democratically. Other transforming countries also have similar problems, but the European Union has not reacted in such a fashion. Therefore, we really feel that stereotypes prevail with regard to the Slovak Republic and that our partners often apply a double standard with regard to the transforming Central European countries.

Regarding the double standard, if something happens in Slovakia, there is an intervention. If something very similar happens elsewhere, nothing is done. Or, in the other countries of Central Europe, are there no conflicts within the state between the president and the government? How else can it be explained when, in the same European state, two politicians assert something completely different? One, that the same standard really is being applied to Slovakia, while the other emphasizes vigorously that it is necessary to apply a tougher standard with regard to the Slovak Republic.

What is the explanation when an official from a West European country says that there are strong circles within the European Union itself that do not want expansion and are merely looking for pretexts to prevent this? How would you explain the statement by another senior representative from another West European country that the West is adopting a Chamberlainian rather than a Churchillian policy in relation to the Central European states—and this time not only toward Slovakia but toward all of them? What can the outcome then be if such a concept is given active support from within the state and even from its head?

We are aware that we are paying a certain tax for independence and the establishment of our new state, which was seen as a threat and is still interpreted as a troublemaker. Development has shown, however, that this is not the case. The breakup of the Federation, the signing of the treaty with the Hungarian Republic—which has considerably improved stability in the region—and the democratic and constitutional resolution of the extant problems are a precedent and also a guarantee that the current problems will also be resolved constitutionally and democratically.

We Expect an Approach Based on Partnership

We expect an approach genuinely based on partnership, an open dialogue, and an exchange of views from our partners. We emphasized this in the Foreign Ministry's statement with regard to us, but also with regard to them. We do not consider the method of the interventions from outside to be the most suitable because it is counterproductive in many respects. If someone really wants to help us, the best way is not to intervene directly in our internal affairs but to support the prointegration forces.

As far as the contents of the demarches are concerned, I have already reacted to them several times. I would like to recall just one thing. When the first demarche arrived a year ago and was accepted by Mr. Moravcik's government, it aired its point of view on it. We can now argue about whether it rejected this demarche or accepted it with reservations. I do not think this is the point. I think the point is merely that our government also has the right to react in a similar vein.

Our Attitude Toward the OSCE

The issue of Slovakia's attitude toward the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe], seen as a kind of dithering between the Russian and other points of view in relation to collective security and so on, has also been raised in speeches. I would like to state clearly that the system of collective cooperative security for the Europe of the 21st century is not an invention of the Slovak Republic, let alone of the Meciar government, and, therefore, is not the work of the devil. I do not know what there can be against these principles in a situation in which the division of the world into blocs has come to an end. The reverse can only be noncooperation, in the worst case conflict, and a new division or the isolation of one or more states. That is, a return to what we had here once before. I hope this is not what we want.

The position of the United States and West European countries is not to isolate Russia, not to create new dividing lines in Europe, and, at the same time, not to support the undemocratic forces in the Russian Federation. And, so that this is absolutely clear, this kind of security system is also being discussed in a forum such as the Western European Union. I hope that no one will doubt the Western European Union.

As far as our relationship with the OSCE is concerned, the point of view of the Slovak Republic—I assume that my predecessors in the post of foreign minister remember it very well—has not changed throughout the entire period. The elements of the European security architecture should be NATO, the Western European Union, and maybe the OSCE and the Commonwealth of Independent States. These elements should form the basis of what should be established and should represent a functional mechanism called the European security system. The main thing, however, is—and our point of view on this is clear—that we are against the other organizations and the other elements of this architecture being subordinate to the OSCE and to a new kind of security superstructure being formed.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Meciar Addresses EU Parliamentary Committee

AU2811155095 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 24 Nov 95 pp 1-2

[Report by CTK: "Vladimir Meciar: It Is Possible To Polemicize on Each Point of the Resolution"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Speaking to deputies of the Joint Parliamentary Committee of the EU and Slovakia yesterday, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar made it clear that he considers the recent European Parliament [EP] resolution, which appealed to his government to respect democratic principles and human rights, almost as a personal injustice.

He pointed out that, even though the democratic and market system is only emerging in the Slovak Republic, the Constitution constitutes the foundation of the law-governed state, and human rights are guaranteed. He conceded, however, that the standard of political culture was fairly low in the Slovak Republic and, in this context, he accused the opposition of "endeavoring to solve its problems via foreign entities." He voiced the assurance that "nothing is being changed" regarding Slovakia's goal of entering the EU and rejected "insinuations" that Slovakia intends to change its orientation toward Russia.

He also defended his economic policy, manifested, for example, in safeguards for state interests in the privatization process. He assured those present that these measures were temporary and challenged his opponents to prove their assertions that privatization was being used as a means of corruption.

Moving to the EP resolution itself, he said that he felt injured by it. "Give us the chance to defend ourselves," he said. He alerted the EU parliament members to the fact that Slovak society is strongly polarized and that, "if you take one side in this situation, you disrupt the balance, without regard for the social consequences." According to Meciar, it is possible to polemicize on each point in the resolution. With the exception of one disputed matter, the resolution "errs in everything," and party interests are being smuggled into lofty words about human rights.

While the Slovak parliament operates according to the majority system, this system is democratic and is also being applied in other countries. The courts are independent, and only "the case of the probable kidnapping of the son of the president of the Slovak Republic has been politicized, but the police are investigating it objectively. If this deed really happened, the perpetrators will be punished. But we have enough reasons to believe that it was otherwise," he remarked.

Moving to the conflict with the president, he said that it is not good when the conclusion is drawn from a person's failure that the whole system is not working. The conflict is being tackled democratically and in a constitutional way and will never be tackled otherwise.

In conclusion, he called on the EP deputies to place on one side of the scales the positive aspects of the Slovak Republic—the peaceful building of the state, the settlement of relations with its neighbors, the calm course of transformation, and the economic development—and, on the other, the bickering and intolerance of political entities, the president's conflict with the parliament, government, and other agencies of state power, the intention of a certain part of minority politicians to pursue policies leading to the formation of autonomous territories, and the underdeveloped democratic structures and culture. According to Meciar, those weaknesses can be overcome only by development.

In his replies to questions, the prime minister conceded that dialogue between the coalition and the opposition is missing in Slovakia, but he accused the opposition of lacking the readiness to enter into a dialogue. Confronted with the objection that, to this day, the government coalition has not permitted the opposition to participate in the control of the secret service, he said that such an offer has already been advanced to the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL], and a suitable person is being sought. The other opposition parties should ponder why they did not receive this offer or, respectively, why they left the parliamentary deliberations when this parliamentary body was set up.

Meciar also stated briefly that relations with the Czech Republic were good.

He stressed that the rights of minorities in Slovakia have been assessed by various European institutions, with the conclusion that they are in conformity with European standards. Occasional tensions are a consequence of historic reminiscences. Regarding the controversial law on the state language, he said that it regulates only the use of Slovak and not the use of minority languages and that the Hungarians could appeal to the Constitutional Court and demand changes.

"It makes us concerned that the Hungarian Government wants to act as the guarantor of the civic rights of our citizens. We do not accept this. We are ready to subject ourselves to the control of European bodies but not to the control of a neighboring state," the Slovak prime minister said regarding Budapest's objections to the language law.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Interpellations

J. Anderson [EP member] said that there must be constructive dialogue between the coalition and the opposition, which also applies to the relationship between the government coalition and the president. He asked Vladimir Meciar whether he is satisfied with this dialogue. A. Macartney [as published] asked the prime minister about the quality of relations with the Czech Republic and about the language law. H. Boesch used the right of the chairman of the session and disagreed with the view that the EP resolution was an act of interference in the internal affairs of the Slovak Republic. He referred to the supplement to the Association Agreement, in which the Slovak Republic agreed with the monitoring of the situation in Slovakia. In his reply to Anderson, Meciar said that he had repeatedly offered dialogue to the opposition but it always rejected it. The SDL also rejected the offer to expand the parliamentary body for supervising the secret service [OKO] with an SDL deputy. Questions to the prime minister were addressed also by Slovak deputies—Peter Weiss (who is polarizing society, how to improve dialogue, and what institutional changes the prime minister is prepared to make), Ivan Simko (about control of the Slovak Information Service and the conditions for expanding OKO), Gabriel Palacka (about expanding OKO), and Pal Csaky (why the prime minister did not consult the language law with the minority, why the treaty with Hungary has not yet been ratified, and why the budget of the Slovak Republic for minorities has not been complied with). These deputies assessed the prime minister's replies to their questions as evasive.

ZMENA: CIA Started 'Campaign' Against Meciar

AU2811185395 Bratislava ZMENA in Slovak 22-28 Nov 95 pp 10-11

[Article by Marian Knazko and Rudolf Vasky: "CIA Recruits for Europe Like Farm Help for Potato Harvest"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Could it happen anywhere else in the world but in the United States that applicants interested in the intelligence service are recruited by means of a general newspaper advertisement? It is a matter of taste, and, at first sight, it does not seem to be our problem. If it were not....

Namely, the agents are recruited for the region of Central and East Europe. We managed to obtain this curiosity and also additional related material from Rudolf Vasky, our fellow Slovak in the United States. This advocate of the idea of interest-free enterprise drew our attention to events that fit together like the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle that forms a large but unknown picture.

Similarity Between a Colony and the Portrayed Slovakia

Let us move to British Guyana in 1953, a colony on the northeastern coast of Latin America. The country has an area of 215,000 square kilometers and a population of 647,000. In the aforementioned year of 1953, the country obtained a new constitution that specified a ministerial government system with an elected prime minister. The elections were won by the People's Progressive Party, with two prominent personalities at its head—Cheddi Jagan and Forbes Burnham. Dr. Cheddi Jagan became prime minister; his associate took this as a personal defeat and became involved in subversive talks with the failed opposition of the ODU-Demes [Slovak Civic Democratic Union-Demes] type. [ODU lost the election in 1992; Demes was foreign minister in Carnogursky's government and is now a presidential adviser]. That, however, was not all. Almost immediately after the elections, he began to slander the prime minister and, by construed accusations, this gentleman managed to get Winston Churchill to suspend the constitution in this British colony only four months after the elections. He even managed to get a warrant issued for the arrest of the prime minister and his wife. After a while, these lies were discovered, and the former prime minister and his wife were released from prison to a great accolade. Cheddi Jagan did not give up and ran again in the 1957 elections, which he won. In the following elections, in 1961, he won for the third time. There was nothing left for the opposition but to cry over the unfortunate situation. The failed Forbes Burnham and his opposition cronies fired off a flood of "grievances," this time to J.F. Kennedy in the United States. Therefore, the slandered prime minister went to the United States to refute the lies about himself and his policy. In good faith, he asked the cradle of democracy—the United States—for help in the declaration of the country's independence from Great Britain. President J.F. Kennedy was very willing but had one concern. Namely, this happened at the time of the humiliating Bay of Pigs fiasco for the U.S. CIA in Cuba, and he was worried that the new country could provide its land to Russians for a base against the United States. The prime minister assured him that the United States had no need to worry about that and asked for economic assistance for his country. According to Arthur Schlesinger's memoirs, *Thousand Days*, President J.F. Kennedy did not comment on the economic assistance. He told Cheddi Jagan that U.S. policy regarding his country is clear—national independence. "If you do it, we do not care whether you are a socialist, capitalist, or something else. We ourselves are pragmatists...."

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

A joint communique followed, which obliged Dr. Jagan to maintain the political freedoms he inherited.

What follows is the interesting part on how the situation developed subsequently. The problem is that the U.S. CIA keeps these events secret despite the U.S. law on the declassification of files after 30 years of secrecy. According to leaked information, after 30 years, it was a terrifying shock for the CIA. The public was supposed to be presented with what had been "concocted" by the CIA in the manipulation with the world under J.F. Kennedy. This information has been confirmed by the members of the committee of historians, who have a U.S. Congress mandate to study the documents from that time. Namely, according to them, the reason for the continued classification of the documents are the events in British Guyana.

Disinformation and Coup Ready

According to the memoirs, immediately after Dr. Jagan left, satisfied by the promise of noninterference, J.F. Kennedy secretly met with the top National Security Council officials. A plan was prepared to topple the prime minister. We are getting to the core of the matter, throwing light on the importance of the secrecy. According to this group of U.S. historians, the classified documents describe, in unusual detail, the direct orders of President J.F. Kennedy to topple the three-time democratically elected prime minister, Dr. Jagan. Although many U.S. presidents issued instructions to overthrow democratically elected leaders and statesmen, they formulated their orders cryptically. Because the orders were too explicit in this instance and because there was no attempt to conceal them, they continue to be dangerous even today. Or perhaps precisely today?

A massive and malicious disinformation campaign was launched against Dr. Jagan. Numerous independent and, until then, unknown radio stations, newspapers, and magazines started to operate in the capital of British Guyana. Various clubs of independent journalists and councils of humanitarian and charity organizations were unusually active. Wherever one looked, there was an extragovernmental organization or its members.

These media carried disinformation about approaching Cuban battleships. Forbes Burnham's associates were bringing reports from the United States that Dr. Cheddi Jagan was considered a rogue and a derelict.... (Was it by accident that, upon his return from the United States, J. Moravcik reported that Meciar is considered there to be an international rogue and derelict?)

The rest of the scenario was perhaps too transparent: strikes organized by the trade unions, which crippled the government and the parliament, and unrest. The U.S. extragovernment organizations did not spare advice or dollars. The unfinished scenario required a different strategy—a blockade of the naval and air transport. Acting on a suggestion by President J.F. Kennedy, Great Britain then withdrew its plans to grant the country independence. In October 1963, the colonial power changed the electoral system of its colony. Subsequently, Dr. Cheddi Jagan was recalled.

Reward for All

The president's adversary, Forbes Burnham, took over the government, and, shortly thereafter, Britain granted the colony independence. The country was renamed Guyana. The *Thousand Days* memoirs read: "Forbes Burnham held onto the power by force and fraud until his death in 1985." He managed "to amass" foreign debts of $2 billion, which is a sum four times Guyana's GDP. The interest on this debt alone swallows more than 80 percent of the Republic's revenues and more than 50 percent of its foreign revenues. Just 30 years ago, Guyana was one of the wealthiest countries in the region. Today it is almost the poorest, doomed to pay the usury dividend forever....

The paradox is that, in 1992, after free elections, the good old Dr. Cheddi Jagan, four times elected by the people, reached the top post in the state again, this time as president. The CIA failed miserably. Can this story still compromise U.S. interests today? According to former CIA associates, it can. The war of economic interests began. The war in Azerbaijan and Armenia—a CIA operation. It was a matter of two new oil discoveries. The war in Bosnia—the CIA. It is a reward for the Arabs who helped U.S. usurers when Iran started to persuade Arabs to use the Japanese yen instead of dollars. Immediately thereafter, fierce diplomatic activity started between the U.S. Department of State and the Arab shaykhs. The result is that the collapsing dollar remained the medium of payment in the Arab oil trade. The Americans (as our sources report) promised and guaranteed Bosnia to the Arabs.

A lesson for the present: it is not necessary to be an intelligence expert to deduce that three-times-elected Slovak Prime Minister Meciar is the target of a disinformation campaign just as Dr. Cheddi Jagan was 30 years ago. That man, unfortunately, did not realize that the campaign of independent press agencies—REUTER, Associated Press, and others—or periodicals like THE NEW YORK TIMES and others engaged in the disinformation campaign was launched on the orders of the CIA.

Let us consider whether the "clerks," to whom our president brought his grievances about the prime minister,

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

were really so insignificant. These clerks' posts were properly purchased and paid for by George Soros. The regulations drafted by these "seemingly insignificant worms" must be observed to the letter by the head of the Department of State....

The United States took precautions against subversion. It used the law to rule out any swarming of saboteurs, subversives, insurgents, and provocateurs in the form of various independent, extragovernment, or charity organizations and foundations. To be exact: Title 22 U.S. Federal Code Articles 611 and 612 state that anyone who receives money from abroad must be registered as a foreign agent. The "Mizu" [as published] case confirms the need for the law, especially because we learn that an advertisement appeared in the U.S. press recruiting for the CIA.... It is a new "potato harvest campaign" in Central and East Europe, the results of which we will learn only too soon.

HZDS Official Urges West To Accept Meciar

AU2811160895 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA (VIKEND supplement) in Slovak 24 Nov 95 pp 1, 10-11

[Article by Augustin Marian Huska, deputy chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia and deputy chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, under the rubric "Monologue"; "Partnership Is a Cure-All Against Demarches and Marches"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The EU is a club of free nations, but even free nations have a tendency toward selfishness embedded in their historical awareness—to such an extent, in fact, that they never forget to warn their liberating partners against the lot and risks of managing their own affairs. Well, we have embarked upon the thin ice of managing our own affairs, and there is now no end of warnings from older, "more adult" states. A vicious circle is in the making: Our neighbors and international organizations advise us according to their stereotypes, and our domestic opposition persistently supports this stereotype, in the hope of earning kudos or out of fear of a foreign authority. Let me given an example. As soon as we launched the new Slovak currency, the IMF recommended to us an immediate 30-36 percent devaluation. The economic experts of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] vehemently demanded a devaluation of at least 30 percent and warned about not heeding foreign advice. We did not yield to this pressure, and wisely so. Later, the IMF itself confirmed that we were right. [passage omitted] A sovereign government must resist foreign pressure that is not advantageous for the country.

While our Slovak society is a multilayer society, the principle of statehood has polarized it into those who understand statehood as new room for one's own choice of decisions and those who prefer to uncritically fulfill recommendations from the powerful of this world. On the public opinion market of a pluralistic democracy, competition is under way between those who want to strengthen sovereignty and those who want to cede it to others.

Of course, the opponents of sovereignty consider such a characterization demagogic and claim that they, too, are in favor of sovereignty and independence; they only do not want isolation. They keep foisting upon us isolationist intentions and accuse us of trying to copy the Albanian path of Enver Hoxha or the Cuban path of Fidel Castro. They say that we have not grasped the main principle of integration. But our models are not Albania or Cuba but, for sure, Denmark and the Netherlands and other small sovereign and competitive states of Europe. Foreign experts claim with serious faces that Integration requires the surrendering, at each level, of a certain part of powers and the ceding of these powers from the lower to the higher level. [passage omitted] In reality, only those sovereign powers are entrusted to the higher, integrating whole that come into being through integration, as new powers of a new quality. If lower, autochthonous powers are ceded as well, the result is not integration but merger. And I do not know which viable nation would want to merge. We want to become integrated, but we do not want to "merge."

In the early nineties, our geopolitical surroundings first tried to persuade us, with the help of their domestic Slovak supporters, that we should give up our emancipation and the will to overcome our alienation from statehood. [passage omitted] When we rejected this, they started defaming us as chauvinists. Then they recommended to us a compromise between formal sovereignty and economic servitude. When we rejected even this "compromise," they accused us of totalitarianism. In three consecutive democratic elections (1990, 1992, 1994) our society essentially legitimized, by a majority, the path toward Slovak statehood and sovereignty and thereby condemned the forces of inertia in our society to the opposition role. This experience is a frustrating one for these forces. The West European countries around us are being constantly flooded with alarming reports from our opposition about the threat posed by Meciar. [passage omitted] This is a fact—the opposition wants to acquire Western backing to be able to settle scores with Meciar's government.

A curious situation has come about: The legitimate structures of power in the West are ceasing to com-

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

municate with the power that has been legitimized by the majority in Slovakia and communicate all the more with representatives of the opposition. Intergovernmental and interparliamentary dialogue has degenerated into the monologue of demarches, resolutions, and warnings. We have not lost the sense of reality, are able to comprehend the balance of forces around us, and do not want to provoke our surroundings. But we also know the deep strength of emancipatory gravitation and realize that, if we succumbed to this pressure, we would deny the will for our own identity and would disappoint also those forces in the Western world that increasingly realize their own duty of self-improvement and their own growing will to rid themselves of selfish mentorship.

It is appropriate to ask: Do we have the chance to sustain our own emancipatory perspective until we obtain growing interaction with the self-improvement forces of the West? My reply is: Yes, provided that we maintain the unity of the democratically legitimized majority and that we accelerate the process of strengthening our own statehood by assimilating the euro-atlantic spiritual and intellectual experience and by becoming successful economically. [passage omitted]

The last European Parliament [EP] resolution on Slovakia was adopted at the proposal of the socialist and liberal groups of deputies. Of the 626-member EP, 160 deputies were present—that is, 25.1 percent—and 19.48 percent voted for the resolution. Before the draft of the resolution was drawn up, it was not discussed with anyone from the Slovak Government or parliament. On the other hand, according to the daily SME, Hungarian Civic Party adviser Berenyi, together with a representative of the Democratic Union, was present during the preparation of this draft. The resolution contains accusations that are not based on facts and formulations that "demand from the Slovak Government," even though the EP does not have the right to "demand," but only to recommend. Well, they persist in applying against us methods of tutorship and mentorship. We must keep a cool head and strive determinedly to establish an equal dialogue befitting partners.

We must strengthen our ability to engage in a dialogue with the world by being able to engage in a dialogue with our domestic opponents, but not by capitulating before them. Democracy operates as the democratic formation of majority will, and we must try to enlist them for partnership cooperation.

Even our coalition is not made up solely of ideal people and is not 100-percent immune to selfishness. [passage omitted] But we have been successful because we convinced the majority of society that, in spite of all our weaknesses, we managed to step out of our own shadow and to prefer the interests of the new state not just to the interests of foreign states, but also to our own individual and group interests. The majority has realized that Meciar and his allies are able to resist foreign pressures and protect Slovak interests.

We have accomplished this not by having a perfect panacea against our own selfishness but because we realized that even our own individual and group interests can be realized more fully when we subordinate them to the common state interest of Slovakia. We could have chosen an easier path and could have ingratiated ourselves with the power structures of the contemporary European status quo, but we would never have achieved our own statehood. We had only two options: our own statehood, even at the price of having to endure for some time the fate of an unwanted child, or instant favorable acceptance for remaining in provincial dependence. We found positive synergy by blending our interests with the interests of Slovakia.

We do not threaten anyone around us, and Europe knows it very well, because our small size also represents a protection against the excessiveness of our ambitions as a state. We assure all euro-atlantic structures that, in our efforts to overcome our own centuries-old alienation from state power and economic and cultural competitiveness, we will use only democratically legitimized means. Everything we have done so far, we did using the means of parliamentary democracy. The opposition and its friends abroad do not have any other partner but Meciar's coalition. It will be good if our near and distant neighbors realize this. However, we have neither the will nor the weakness to content ourselves with a lesser position than that of a sovereign partner.

HZDS Paper Portrays Kovac as Loyal Ex-Communist

AU2311104695

[FBIS Editorial Report] Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 14 November on page 5, on 15 November on page 6, on 16 November on page 5, on 17 November on page 4, and on 18 November on page 5 publishes a series of five articles, totaling 9,000 words, entitled "What Slovak President Michal Kovac Was Doing To Further His Career." The series, which is said to have been reprinted from the Czech daily SPIGL, consists of the unedited letters written by Michal Kovac to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia on 27 March 1970 and to Gustav Husak, first secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, on 7 April 1970, and of a speech made by Michal

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Kovac at a meeting of his Communist Party primary organization in spring 1970.

In the letters and the speech, Kovac appeals against the proposal to remove him from his managerial position with the Bratislava branch of the Czechoslovak State Bank, made on the basis of views on developments in Czechoslovakia in 1968, which Kovac presented in his correspondence with Eugen Loebl, his former superior, who emigrated from Czechoslovakia after the Soviet-led invasion of August 1968. In his letters to the Communist Party authorities and his speech to his fellow party members, Kovac dissociates himself from his previously held views, including his previous condemnation of the Soviet military invasion, and vows that he has overcome these views and shares the party leadership's assessment of the 1968 events. Justifying his previous "errors," Kovac explains that he spent the year 1968 as bank employee in London and was "almost completely cut off from information from home and dependent on information from English sources." He also vows that he never acted "against the interests of the party and our society and never participated in any antiparty activities."

As SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA notes in an introductory passage, the series illustrates "how present Slovak President Engineer Michal Kovac was furthering his career under the communists." It is also said to demonstrate how, "after the coup of 1989, many comrades quickly changed their views and switched to the opposite side, for a quite simple reason: to hold on to power."

KDH Chairman Discusses Slovak Situation, Future

AU2811101595 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 23 Nov 95 p 4

[Interview with Slovak KDH Chairman Jan Carnogursky by Oldrich Zabojnik in Bratislava; date not given: "Jan Carnogursky: Let Meciar Rule!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Zabojnik] Do you believe that the notices or warnings by the EU and the EP [European Parliament] are for the government coalition a sufficiently serious reason for thought?

[Carnogursky] If you are insinuating that the EU resolution is sufficient warning for Meciar's government to shift into reverse, the answer is certainly not. It will continue in its policy and in the attacks against the president. It may be playing with the idea of forming a coalition of Romania, Slovakia, and possibly Serbia, perhaps with some help from Russia. Nevertheless, I believe these contemplations are half-baked and without a specific realistic basis. It means that Meciar's government will continue in this policy until its bitter end, regardless of the number of resolutions and practical steps on the part of the EU. The question is only what comes first, the fall of Meciar's government or irreparable damage to Slovakia.

[Zabojnik] Have you considered the possibility of early elections, when, on the other hand, you appealed recently to let Meciar rule?

[Carnogursky] Yes, I stick to this opinion. Public opinion surveys to date have not indicated such a decline in the popularity of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and Vladimir Meciar that would warrant early elections. If they took place soon, the difference in comparison to the last elections would be marginal.

[Zabojnik] In spite of this, you apparently do not consider the situation in Slovakia inertial.

[Carnogursky] Of course not. I understand the situation so that the fall of Meciar's government on the basis of its exposition by the population will be a permanent and stable change of Slovak policy toward a much more constructive, rational, and, if you wish, more European policy. It will benefit both Slovakia and its neighbors.

[Zabojnik] Some time ago, you were the first constitutional official to firmly state publicly that the success of the Slovak transformation is based, above all, on the patience of the population, which suffers its consequences. Do you believe that this exposition of the present government will be a result of economic and social causes?

[Carnogursky] Yes, certainly. Undoubtedly, it will be a matter of increased suffering of the Slovak population. A suffering with this Meciar's government on the basis of the election results.

[Zabojnik] Would you be put off by the difficulties of the recovery from the present state?

[Carnogursky] No, life is like that. When we were still under the communist regime, I saw a cartoon in a Czech newspaper. Two men were holding thick document files and telling a third man: Comrade director, we have drafted the five-year plan for repairing the damages caused by the last five-year plan. Slovakia will undergo something like that.

SME Identifies Cars Linked to Kovac Jr Case

AU2811183495 Bratislava SME in Slovak 24 Nov 95 p 1

[Article by "pt": "License Plates of Cars Used in Kidnapping Michal Kovac Jr. Have Been Changed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—In the past couple of days, cars used in the kidnapping of Michal Kovac Jr. have repeatedly been seen in a certain Bratislava street,

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

with changed license plates, while shadowing family members of Oskar F., a former Slovak Information Service [SIS] member who confessed his unconscious participation in kidnapping Michal Kovac Jr. The cars are: Ford Mondeo BLE 51-62 (original license plate BLD 42-95), BMW 320 BLE 02-27 (original license plate has been kept), Honda Civic BLH 88-18 (this car had not been noticed during the kidnapping), and Hyundai Lantra BLE 47-12 (original license plate BLD 68-23). Following the publication of these numbers, it is to be expected that these cars will be allocated new license plates again.

An as-yet unspecified dark car with license plate BLE-68 has been noticed shadowing members of the family of the SME editor who devotes himself to the case of Michal Kovac Jr.'s abduction. It is most probably either a Toyota Lexus or a Mitsubishi Pajero, the car usually used by SIS Director Ivan Lexa.

[Bratislava SME in Slovak on 25 November on page 4 carries a 400-word report by Peter Toth entitled "Witnesses Are Silent." The report mentions that "last week an unidentified person threw combustible matter at the window of the apartment belonging to a policeman who reported the attempt by two SIS employees to obtain a false alibi for the white Mercedes 208D van used in 'Operation Kovac.'" Toth wonders, "Which witness would have the courage to testify and identify the perpetrators, given these circumstances?"]

Press Warns of Dangers to Academic Freedom

AU2811110495

[FBIS Editorial Report] Slovak newspapers have recently been carrying a number of reports and commentaries on universities' fears of restrictions on academic freedom and the universities' autonomous status as a result of a planned amendment to the university law. One commentator even says that one of the aims of the amendment could be to purge universities of critics of the government. The call for the removal of "anti-Slovak forces" from the Slovak universities was made by the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] daily SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in a commentary on 2 November.

Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 2 November on page 3 carries a 700-word commentary by Ladislav Andrey entitled "Foam of Post-November Backwaters." The commentary denounces Trnava University as "a nest of the former Public Against Violence [VPN] movement and its friends from the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH]" and calls it "Slovakia's shame and a mockery of the academic community" that former VPN or present KDH activists "Kusy, Simko, Vavro, Szolomanyiova, and suchlike" teach at this university.

Andrey continues: "By twice rejecting the [government's offer to set up] a Catholic university in Trnava, the Bishop's Conference, headed by Bishop Rudolf Balaz, gave support to the existence of the present Trnava University in the hands of cosmopolitan ill-wishers of Slovakia. The urgent question arises as to whether the situation in Bratislava and Kosice is the same. What other explanation is there for both these universities being headed by representatives of anti-Slovak forces?

"On the political scene, election winds have blown away the foam of the post-November backwaters and have at least partially cleared the political atmosphere, despite incessant efforts by many, headed by the KDH, to poison it. For our society to grow, it is now necessary to give an airing to the administration of our universities—democratically, by means of competition. Radim Palous recently left the post of rector of Charles University in Prague, and a new rector was elected in his place in a competition. It is necessary for the same procedure to be also implemented in Trnava, Bratislava, and Kosice. The universities must be the nation's brain trust, not its stultifier."

Bratislava SME in Slovak on 15 November on page 4 carries a 1,000-word article by Branislav Liska, member of the Academic Senate of Comenius University in Bratislava, entitled "Who Is Planning To Give an Airing to the Administration of Our Universities, and Why?"

Liska voices the fear that the SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA commentary might have signaled the beginning of a "campaign against the universities" and may have been designed to prepare the public for "intervention against them." Liska says: "The universities can clearly see from commentaries what awaits them. It is a signal showing what the beginning of a thorough anti-November might look like." Liska wonders how the author of the SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA commentary intends to "give an airing" to the administration of Slovak universities without violating their current autonomous status, guaranteed by law, and calls upon the Slovak academic community to "emphatically speak out" against those who "want to liquidate academic rights and freedoms."

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 21 November on page 3 carries a 700-word commentary by Jarmila Horakova entitled "The Amendment to the University Law Has Moved From the Professional Level to the Political Plane." The commentary deals with "tensions and nervousness in the academic community in Slovakia" aroused by the government's plan to amend the 1990 law on universities. Horakova says: "Why is the entire academic community sounding the alarm,

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

and why have even students, otherwise apathetic toward government moves, awakened? Because the last variant of the amendment contains such rigid centralist tendencies and establishes such opportunities for government interference in the autonomy of universities that its passage would mean a moral and professional leap backwards by six years." The commentator observes that, until six years ago, all university appointments were politically influenced, "which someone is missing again. It is therefore deemed necessary to enact a provision in the amendment that would allow the minister of education to interfere in the autonomy of the universities in the period between elections of new functionaries, when the minister would entrust others with the universities' management." In the commentator's opinion, this is a "transparent maneuver," whose aim is "to finally eliminate inconvenient rectors and install one's own obedient people in their place."

Bratislava SME in Slovak on 16 November on page 2 carries a 200-word report by "ch," entitled "Memorandum of the Academic Community." According to the report, an "assembly of the Comenius University academic community," held in Bratislava on 15 November, agreed on a "Memorandum," in which "representatives of the academic community reject inappropriate attempts to restrict by legislative means the universities' status and their academic rights and freedoms and demand only such an amendment to the university law as will fully respect the opinion of the academic community and universities' bodies."

On the same day, on page 3, Bratislava SME in Slovak carries a 400-word report by "ch" on a panel discussion on the amendment to the university law, held in Bratislava on 14 November. According to the report, Marian Tolnay, director of the Section for Universities at the Ministry of Education, told the meeting that one of the controversial provisions—the approval by the Ministry of Education of the number of students to be accepted for individual fields of study—has been deleted from the latest draft of the amendment. However, Tolnay reportedly admitted that the Ministry of Education would distribute financial means to individual universities "in conformity with the state employment policy and with the state concept for developing universities, taking into account the appraisal of the universities by the accreditation commission." The SME reporter notes that the participants in the discussion objected that, "by means of the allocated sums, the ministry would be able indirectly to influence the numbers of enrolled students" anyhow.

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 20 November on page 3 carries a 300-word report by "op" on a Slovak Rectors Conference, SRK, meeting in Mojmirovce on 18 November. The SRK issued a statement demanding that the draft amendment to the university law be publicly appraised and that the "academic community" be allowed to deliver its opinion on the draft before it was submitted to the National Council of the Slovak Republic. The statement also points out that the latest draft of the amendment "was prepared without accepting the standpoint of the academic community and permits intervention by the state administration in the autonomy of the universities. The draft amendment also does not accept the SRK, which makes this draft unacceptable to the academic community."

According to the report, Juraj Svec, SRK president and Comenius University rector, who is also parliamentary deputy for the Democratic Union, criticized at the meeting the proposed 1996 budget for the universities' research programs. "Compared with 1995, the draft budget for science at universities has been cut by almost 10 percent, while the budgets of departmental scientific institutes are to be raised by an average of 15 percent and the budget of the Slovak Academy of Sciences by 20 percent," Svec is quoted as saying. Svec describes the proposed budget as "the deliberate liquidation of science at the universities."

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 16 November on page 2 carries a 300-word report by Alexander Buzinkay entitled "The President Will Not Sign the Prepared University Law Amendment," which claims that, during his visit to Kosice on 15 November, President Kovac received a student delegation, which handed him a petition on the amendment to the university law. "Speaking about the amendment, Michal Kovac said that he did not consider it necessary to limit academic freedoms embedded in the existing law. Should parliament approve the amendment currently under preparation, the president is determined not to sign it and will return it to parliament," the NARODNA OBRODA report says.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Kovacs on Country's 'Commitment' to NATO

AU2811220395 Paris AFP in English 2133 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Budapest, Nov 28 (AFP)—The Hungarian parliament Tuesday [28 November] approved a move to allow NATO peacekeeping forces bound for Bosnia to pass through Hungary and set up supply and service bases there, state radio reported.

It means NATO troops can temporarily stay in Hungarian territory, make use of its airspace, airbases and transport network, and turn designated barracks into supply bases.

Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs told AFP the decision was "a goodwill message which shows the commitment of Hungary to cooperate with NATO."

He said it was the first time Hungary had been requested to cooperate "on a large scale to promote a NATO operation."

Kovacs said the decision paves the way for the temporary deployment of 1,000 to 2,000 troops from a logistics unit in southern Hungary for a year as well as the means to service some 20,000 peacekeepers in Bosnia.

OSCE To Prepare, Monitor Elections in Bosnia

LD2811210695 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The OSCE wants to take part in the preparation and monitoring of the elections in Bosnia. Szilveszter Varga reports from Belgrade.

[Varga] The OSCE is to establish an election mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the representative of the OSCE chairman in office told Hungarian Radio and the MTI. After a discussion with the Bosnian Serb deputy chairman in Belgrade, Marton Krasznai said the OSCE would send hundreds of observers to the region during its one-year mission.

The Hungarian OSCE representative added that a resolution on undertaking a role in Bosnia is necessary before the mission could start. The resolution should be passed at the Budapest meeting of the OSCE council of ministers to open on 6 December. In reply to the question whether representatives of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry and Hungarian experts will also go to Bosnia-Herzegovina, Krasznai said:

[Begin Krasznai recording] Yes, it is obvious. When the mission begins next year we still be members of the Troika; therefore, we will presumably play a quite serious role both in preparation and in implementation. [end recording]

[Varga] He added that Sarajevo has great expectations for the OSCE mission. However, Belgrade is a bit skeptical, though it assures the OSCE delegation full cooperation.

Orban 'Surprised' by EU Stance on Language Law

LD2911105995 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0600 GMT 29 Nov 95

[From the "Chronicle" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] It seems that the European Union intends to start talks on admission simultaneously with the 10 associate members, and this is disadvantageous for Hungary. This was said by Viktor Orban when, 30 minutes ago, he spoke to our program about his Brussels talks. Mr. Orban, chairman of the Hungarian National Assembly's European Integration Committee, also discussed the Slovak language law with Hans van den Broek, the EU Commission's member responsible for foreign relations. Orban summed up the developments for the "Chronicle" in the following way:

[Begin Orban recording] I asked Mr. van den Broek to qualify the Slovak Government's behavior. He tried to avoid doing this and came up with a position which surprised me, and I consider it to be a serious development. It seems that Slovak diplomacy, here in Brussels, and I suppose in other countries as well, has succeeded in presenting its position that the law just passed, the Slovak language law, is a good law in itself, but it has to be supplemented, that they are ready to do this, and that they are already working on supplementing this law with a law on the use of minority languages.

Those who know Central Europe, Slovak-Hungarian relations, and have read the Slovak-Hungarian language law will obviously know that this claim does not correspond to the facts, for the language law itself, which has already been passed, is nothing but a ban—in certain areas a full ban and in other areas a partial ban—on the use of minority languages. [end recording]

Privatization Minister Comments on Budget, Bokros

AU2811114395 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 25 Nov 95 p 7

[Interview with Privatization Minister Tamas Suchman by Adrienne Farkas in Szolnok on 24 November: "The SZDSZ Might Sabotage Privatization"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Paper production has started again in Szolnok. The Austrian firm Neusiedler has purchased the Szolnok Paper Mill that closed in 1992. The Austrian firm manufactures mainly high-quality copying and computer paper. Some 256 workers could again

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

enjoy their jobs after the festive opening on 24 November, and this number of employees is expected to double within two years. The Austrian owner purchased the factory for 3.2 billion forints [Ft], and spent another Ft800 million on modernizing it. Director Gyorgy Kardos hopes that the investment will become profitable by the end of 1997 because, according to the plans, 80 percent of the paper produced here will be sold on Western markets. Privatization Minister Tamas Suchman also participated at the festive opening. First, we asked Suchman about Finance Minister Lajos Bokros' plans to resign.

[Suchman] The recent decisions of the Constitutional Court seriously affect the budget. At the moment, I do not really know how to solve these contradictions. The recent and expected Constitutional Court decisions will withdraw further billions from the budget. I understand that Lajos Bokros is in a difficult situation: expenses cannot be reduced, and there are no sources of increasing incomes. However, if we take on credits, the processes will increasingly deteriorate.

[Farkas] Should we count on the possible collapse of the budget?

[Suchman] The budget will not collapse, because we will look for possibilities to solve the tensions.

[Farkas] You are regarded as one of Gyula Horn's supporters. Gyula Horn repeatedly supported the finance minister's economic program. Do you support the prime minister in this?

[Suchman] My relations with the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] and its chairman have not changed since 1990. Nor do I have any reason to change them. I have correct relations with the prime minister, I support his efforts, and I consider them to be correct. I know how negatively Gyula Horn is affected by the fact that these measures bring several million people into a difficult situation, but he is also aware of the fact that there is no alternative to stabilization. The budget could fall into pieces if we failed to halt the processes that have been straining it. The solution can be formulated differently, but the result cannot be different. I can only say that I will always support the prime minister, because I agree with his efforts.

[Farkas] Do you think that your positions will strengthen now?

[Suchman] I never dealt with my positions. I am a government official in charge of privatization, an official who has obligations. Two of them are most important, namely, to serve the privatization process honestly and to observe the laws. I do not have any power ambitions.

[Farkas] Are you confident that the planned Ft250 billion will flow in from privatization in 1995 and 1996?

[Suchman] I am sure we will get it, but I cannot accept any haste in this affair. I stick to the three rules: adequate price, as well as the protection of national economy and consumer interests; naturally, the issue of employment also belongs here, because privatization cannot lead to people losing their jobs.

[Farkas] Will the MATAV company be privatized this year?

[Suchman] I do not have any information on that. Besides, I do not give out advance information on privatization income. However, I can say that we will conclude reviewing some of the gas and electric energy tenders this year, and it seems that they will successful. In the case of the gas industry privatization, there is fourfold oversubscription. I also count on oversubscription in the electric energy industry, but I do not yet know the prices. Every million dollars is important for me, and we will conclude the negotiations when we accept the best offer.

[Farkas] Experts are mostly worried that we will become dependent on the buyers if we sell our electric power network.

[Suchman] Some experts have basic knowledge, and others belong to another lobby. Expert opinions are interwoven with politics. I am aware of the fact that my activity is criticized in many places, especially by the coalition partners. Moreover, according to some rumors, they are sabotaging, or are trying to sabotage this year's privatization incomes. I am not one of those who is afraid of windstorms. The coalition partner is at least as much interested in the success of the economic processes as the country and the governing party.

MSZP's Csintalan Announces Intention To Resign

AU2811101495 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 Nov 95 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The MSZP Executive Deputy Chairman To Resign"]

[FBIS Translated Text] NEPSZABADSAG has learned that Sandor Csintalan, the executive deputy chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], has announced in writing that he wants to resign from his present position. He wants to function in his current position only until the MSZP congress scheduled for the beginning of 1996, and only on the basis of authorization from the party's presidium. The apparent reason behind Sandor Csintalan decision is that the confidence of the MSZP chairman in him has diminished.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

NEPSZABADSAG has learned that Sandor Csintalan's letter was distributed among those present at the MSZP National Committee meeting on 22 November, and both MSZP Chairman Gyula Horn and other National Committee members tried to convince Sandor Csintalan to rescind his decision.

Constitutional Court Chairman Defends Rulings

LD2611231995 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 26 Nov 95

[From the "The Week" program]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Since the establishment of the Constitutional Court [in 1990], its activities have been followed by confusion, criticism, and political passion. Over the past six months, the Socialist-Liberal [Hungarian Socialist Party—MSZP, Alliance of Free Democrats—SZDSZ] government coalition has several times experienced the fact that legislation in line with the Constitution is not an easy job. On the latest occasion, this week, when offering his resignation, [Finance Minister] Lajos Bokros referred to the fact that through its rulings over economic matters, the Constitutional Court questioned the entire scope of financial stabilization.

Laszlo Solyom, chairman of the Constitutional Court, has given an interview to "The Week" before his visit abroad.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Does the Constitutional Court adjust its code of conduct to the parliament or government actually in power?

[Solyom] No. The Constitutional Court started its functioning on 1 January 1990. Since then, this is the third government which has been in office, but I do not think that any conclusion could be drawn from the Constitutional Court rulings regarding the question of what kind of government is in power at the given time. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Could the possibility be entirely ruled out that the Constitutional Court passes judgments on the basis of mood. What I mean, for example, is that now there is a certain public mood against the government. With its decisions, the Constitutional Court could even support this mood.

[Solyom] I do not even like to hear this question, for the Constitutional Court has several times demonstrated that it does not pay attention to the public mood. [passage omitted]

Neither politics nor public opinion can influence us. This body can only examine the aspects of constitutionality. [passage omitted]

My professional conscience is entirely clear that this extent of intervention into economic relations—how far the Constitutional Court's decisions reach—is in line with international norms. I would also like to stress that the Constitutional Court already made it clear in its ruling during the summer that there is no excuse and grounds for infringing the Constitution with reference to an emergency situation in the economy, to the fact that there is not enough money.

Not many people know that, according to the Hungarian Constitution, social rights cannot be suspended even in an emergency situation. It would be rather unfortunate if the Constitutional Court started a dialogue, or, what is even worse, started a dispute. The Constitution stipulates that the Constitutional Court reviews the constitutionality of laws. These laws include legal measures related to the economy or affecting the economy. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Is the Constitutional Court infallible?

[Solyom] No, it is not infallible and not a higher authority than the pope, either. The Constitutional Court, on the one hand, is open to and pays close attention to criticism by the profession—but not to political criticism—and on the other hand, the Constitutional Court also accepts criticism, and it has corrected its own decisions on more than one occasion. [passage omitted] [end recording]

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Izetbegovic Urges NATO To Arrest War Criminals

AU2811162895 Paris AFP in English 1613 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Nov 28 (AFP) — NATO, which is set to lead a peace force in Bosnia, should "arrest war criminals" as part of its mission, Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic said Tuesday, without directly naming Bosnian Serbs leaders.

"The problem is how to manage to capture them," he added at a press conference after a meeting here with Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller, whose country is a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

"Among its different duties NATO will have to seize those who have been indicted by the tribunal in The Hague," he said. [passage omitted]

Izetbegovic criticized what he said was pressure by Serb leaders on the media, charging that they want to "influence" the US Congress which must approve plans to send 20,000 US troops to take part in the multinational peace implementation force in Bosnia.

The Bosnian president also reproached the media, singling out CNN, for showing only women and children in Serb districts and forgetting "the soldiers who for four years have bombed civilian targets in Sarajevo and filled the cemeteries."

Karadzic 'Fully' Supports Clinton Troop Plan

LD2811163895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1554 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov 28 (TANJUG) — The president of the Republika Srpska (RS — state of Bosnian Serbs), Radovan Karadzic said on Tuesday that he 'fully supported' the plan of President Bill Clinton to send U.S. troops to Bosnia and added that 'they will make new friends here'.

'If American troops are coming on a friendly mission, they will be welcomed by Serbs...If the conduct of foreign troops is completely impartial, they will make here new friends', Karadzic said in an interview to CNN.

In the interview made in Pale, RS political center, Karadzic also said that he had abandoned the idea of a military settlement to the conflict which lasted almost four years in the former Yugoslavia, agencies reported.

'I have completely abandoned the idea of a military settlement', he said and added: 'I support fully the Dayton agreement. We recognize peace'.

Karadzic said that he hoped that the status of Sarajevo would be considered again. Under the Dayton peace agreement, Sarajevo became part of the Muslim-Croat federation.

On Monday evening, Clinton called on the U.S. people and Congress to support his plan to send 20,000 U.S. troops, as part of the 60,000 NATO forces to supervise the implementation of peace in Bosnia.

Serbs Voice Determination Over Sarajevo Issue

AU2811184295 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 27 Nov 95

[Telephone report by Dejana Radovanovic from Ilidza]

[FBIS Translated Text] After four years of silence about the Serb truth and the lack of interest by the international community in events in the Serb Republic, some 20 foreign correspondents attended a news conference in Ilidza hosted by representatives of the civilian and military authorities of Sarajevo Municipality. Seven days after the Dayton agreement, the foreign correspondents were most interested in hearing the reaction of the representatives of the local authorities and the people.

After four years of bloody civil war, everybody realized that the Serbs do not have a place in the Muslim-Croat federation, emphasized President [as heard] Brzojevic, and that genocide is the only thing that awaits them there. Consequently, the international public must try find a better and more-acceptable solution. If it is not found, an escalation of fighting will become an immediate reality. For the past four years, Muslim propaganda has been spreading disinformation about the alleged aggression of the Yugoslav Army against the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Muslims have recently launched a similar media campaign and sent word that the Serbs should not leave these parts and that their safety is guaranteed, warned Vladimir Radojcic, officer of the Serb Republic Army Ilidza Brigade. Asked whether the brigade is prepared to continue the war, Radojcic replied that the weapons will be silent until a political solution that is acceptable to all parties is found, but that the army will never leave the people at the mercy of the enemy. The determination, orientation, and perseverance of this nation, and their resolution to have sovereignty over their territory have been shown and proven several times so far. Even as early as in 1992, the Sarajevo Serbs spoke against Muslim-Croat domination and waged a war for their freedom and independence. And now the others want to take away what belongs to us. However, the determination of this nation is even stronger, and only the people can make the final decision on Serb Sarajevo, said President Brzojevic, concluding today's news conference.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Sarajevo Authorities Urge Serbs To Cooperate

AU2811210295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Sarajevo Municipal Assembly turned to the residents in the temporarily occupied parts of town with a statement that Sarajevo is gradually advancing toward a period of general revival. As a part of this process all residents will get a chance for a fresh start and a better life in their town.

The time has come for you to prepare yourselves for the process of reintegration into a unified and joint Sarajevo and to reject those who are trying to impose the greater Serbian idea, which has brought nothing but casualties, pain, and tears to us as well as to you. We would like to overcome the artificial borders and enjoy a free and open town. We call on you to participate actively in the process of reintegration into a joint Sarajevo, which we will rebuild with joint forces and with the assistance of our friends and investors from all over the world, states the written appeal by the Sarajevo Municipal Assembly to the residents in the occupied municipalities and adds:

Residents of Sarajevo, your neighbors of yesterday are willing to give you another chance. The legal municipal authorities will safeguard an equal status to you so that we can start a new, happier, and economically safer joint life in a unified town.

Sarajevo Serbs To Send Milosevic Petition

LD2911125995 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1151 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 29 Nov (SRNA) — More than 2,000 citizens of the Sarajevo district of Grbavica [Serb-held part of central Sarajevo] signed a petition today to protest the Dayton agreement for ceding Serb Sarajevo to the Croat-Muslim federation. [passage omitted]

According to Dejan Krleta, chairman of the organizing committee, the petition will be sent to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, and the leadership of the Serb Republic will take it as an expression of the people's will to the final conference on former Bosnia-Herzegovina in Paris.

Plavsic on Pledge To Build Serb Sarajevo

AU2811212595 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Nov 95 p 2

[Interview with "Serb Republic Vice President" Biljana Plavsic by unidentified correspondent broadcast in Studio B Television on 24 November: "Belgrade Promised To Build New Serb Sarajevo"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Even after more than 24 hours since the end of the meeting in Dobanovci — where the leaders of Yugoslavia, Serbia, Montenegro, and the Serb Republic met behind closed doors — hardly anything has reached the public except for the official statement. The statement states curtly that the leadership of the Serb Republic has accepted the Dayton accord.*

[Plavsic] I believe that the meeting in Dobanovci was a necessity and that it represented a continuity of the few meetings that preceded Dayton at which the territorial priorities were established. As the priorities were minimal, that is, they only contained what was necessary for the survival, the functioning, and the existence of the state of the Serb Republic, we could not allow any retreat from these priorities.

[Correspondent] Was there any backing down?

[Plavsic] Yes; actually, in the case of Sarajevo. One of the priorities was Serb Sarajevo. I can say that the continuity of the territory has been achieved as much as possible. Naturally, there is Gorazde now existing as an enclave. The Serb territory nevertheless has continuity. The second issue was to widen the corridor in Posavina, to make it functional, to make the territory that will link the eastern and the western parts of the Serb Republic functional. Some say that a 20-km width could not be achieved. I believe that 20 km is the bare minimum for the maintenance of air traffic.

One of the priorities was access to the sea. On this issue, President Milosevic told us that this was definite. I had an opportunity to watch when President Tudjman first returned from Dayton, addressed his public, and said that Croatia had agreed to give part of the sea. That part of the coast is of a rather poor quality; however, it will suffice. We did not speak about the quality, but the need to have access to the sea. He (Tudjman) said that this was given in exchange for a slightly deeper Dubrovnik hinterland that is, actually, Serb territory. Therefore, this was a sort of exchange.

[Correspondent] Let us dwell on the Serb Republic's access to the sea and the solution for Prevlaka, I presume. Where is this access to the sea?

[Plavsic] I know the place. It is called Konavoske Stene [name as published]. These are hills and cliffs, high ones. Enormous investments would be needed to accomplish anything there, to perhaps create a harbor. Let us not talk about this. With some luck and a little prosperity, people can do anything these days. If this is the case, they told us that we gained this small part of the coastline. What is important is that any country,

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

regardless of its size, gains access to the sea, since the Adriatic Sea happens to be here. That all peoples who live on the territory that gravitates toward the Adriatic Sea should divide the coastline fairly is quite another matter.

[Correspondent] How do you assess the solutions regarding Sarajevo?

[Plavsic] This should not have happened. Had a little more effort been invested, this could have been sorted out.

[Correspondent] By whom?

[Plavsic] Well, who took a direct part in these talks? [Serbian] President Milosevic. Also, there was a possibility of an exchange. The Muslims have Gorazde as an enclave on our territory. Couldn't the Serbian municipalities be exchanged for Gorazde?

[Correspondent] Did you ask President Milosevic about that in Dobanovci?

[Plavsic] We asked him. Most of the debate concentrated on the solution for Sarajevo, which, from a moral point of view, the people down there have not deserved. With respect to a lasting peace, I shall say the following. I even believe that those who were so anxious to restore peace were those who had actually provoked and masterminded the disintegration of Yugoslavia. The international community, primarily the Americans, left Sarajevo as a potential crisis hot spot, perhaps for the moment when they decide that a war should be started again for the sake of their interests. It can happen any moment, perhaps tonight, perhaps in a month's time. I mean, the Serbs down there will not do it. I think that we are quite helpless here to explain it to the people.

[Correspondent] There have been demonstrations by the Serbs in the part of Sarajevo where they live. Radovan Karadzic and Momcilo Krajisnik held talks with the representatives of the Serb part of Sarajevo. What do you think will happen next?

[Plavsic] There will probably be demonstrations, and they will last. Nobody will be able to move these people.

[Correspondent] Did Alija Izetbegovic ask the Sarajevo Serbs not to leave Sarajevo?

[Plavsic] They explained us that security will be guaranteed to all residents, regardless of ethnicity, by the troops that will arrive to maintain peace. This all falls in the realm of theory. After everything that we have gone through, and especially the people down there, to be speculating about something of the kind, this sort of security, after everything that happened in Knin Krajina and in western Slavonia and that will definitely happen in eastern Slavonia — this is Utopia — explanation. [sentence as published]

[Correspondent] Do you think that the Sarajevo Serbs will move out, or what do you anticipate will happen? How will the problem of Sarajevo be solved?

[Plavsic] We will explain it to the state leadership the way we had agreed, that is, that the entire community will help. Speaking about the community, this is the term used in the document; it should, however, be specified exactly what this community is, because it will not be Croats who will build the new Serb Sarajevo but the Serbs, probably. In says that FRY will take part in it — it is obliged to build the new Serb Sarajevo. I do not know the location. It should be somewhere close. Vojnovici is ours, Lukavica is ours — probably somewhere within this area. Such a document was signed. This document was signed first, and only subsequently President Karadzic placed a signature on the document accepting the peace agreement. We have also had bad experiences with documents being signed. I mean, we wonder how binding they will be. I believe, however, that the signatories to this document on Serb Sarajevo are those who should honor the agreement. The document is signed by FRY President Mr. Lilic, Serbian President Mr. Milosevic, and Serb Republic President Mr. Karadzic. I do not know whether [Montenegrin President] Mr. Bulatovic signed it, he probably did. I mean, the first three signatures are sufficient.

Serb Ruling Party Discusses Dayton Results

LD2811211695 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The 29th session of the Executive Committee of the Serb Democratic Party [SDS] was held in Pale today. Also taking part in this work were the chairmen of the party's coordinating committees.

At the meeting members of the executive committee discussed the results of the agreement initialled in Dayton and the topics to be debated at the forthcoming meeting of the party's main committee which is to be held on 30 November in Pale.

The SDS executive committee says the greatest result of this years-long struggle is the creation of the Serb Republic, but members of the party's executive committee say some parts of the Dayton agreement, especially those relating to territory, are both inhuman and unjust and they propose that the main committee adopt a standpoint on this and list the priorities for the Serb Republic: the compactness of the territory; Serb Sarajevo, a functional corridor through Posavina, the foothills of Mt Kozara and Grmec, and an outlet to the sea.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

The executive committee also proposes to the Serb Republic's government that it draw up as soon as possible a comprehensive plan for the preservation of the unity of the population, their property, and state property.

In preparation for the session of the main comittee, which will also debate planned SDS activities, the executive committee stresses that everything should be done on the ground to preserve the results achieved so far, the state and the freedom of the Serb people.

Serb Expert Views Results of Dayton Talks

AU2811181995 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 27 Nov 95

[Interview with Vladimir Lukic, member of the Serb negotiating team at the Dayton talks, by Marinko Ucur in the Banja Luka TV studio — live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Ucur] Tonight's guest on the Serb Television "Dnevnik" newscast is Vladimir Lukic, member of the Serb negotiating team that has recently took part in the Dayton peace talks. Good evening, Mr. Lukic, and welcome.

[Lukic] Good evening.

[Ucur] You have recently returned from Dayton where you acted as a geodesy expert, that is, a demarcation expert. Could you comment on the three weeks of quarantine and the results of the talks, primarily regarding what the Serb side got and expected?

[Lukic] Indeed, we were quarantined, and I must say that we were too busy to notice, as there was a great deal of anticipation, nervousness, etc. The most important thing, what we were most concerned about, is the result, which we cannot be pleased with, because I believe that the Serb side has been very much shortchanged, especially regarding several important territories: the demarcation of Sarajevo, the corridor at Brcko, and certain territories in Krajina, here in our vicinity. This is where we were very much shortchanged, but we must consider the fact that our circumstances were very unfavorable when we went to Dayton. Secondly, everybody was against us, not only our opponents, but also our hosts, who were obviously biased and worked in favor our enemies, especially the Muslims.

[Ucur] Mr. Lukic, did you have a chance to meet and talk directly with Muslim and Croat demarcation experts and what were their expectations?

[Lukic] I talked to quite a few Croat and Muslim representatives. Naturally, I had the opportunity to meet and talk with a number of experts from the host country, as well as experts from some other countries. I must say that our opponents are fairly dissatisfied. Both the Muslims and the Croats. The Muslims demanded practically all of Bosnia. They were particularly demanding regarding western and eastern Bosnia, wanting all of Sarajevo, certain areas in Posavina, etc. The Croats left Dayton dissatisfied regarding Posavina. I must also say that I talked with the Croats about Bozac, about the delivery of electric power, as early as 1 November. They promised to deliver, because we are justified in demanding that, because we believe they owe it to us, etc. They promised, they did some of it, but they did not keep their promise all the way.

[Ucur] Did the Croats, having agreed to give back to the Serbs the presently occupied areas of the municipalities of Sipovo and Mrkonjic Grad, stab the Muslims, their federal partners, in the back, as it were, as this cuts off a vital Muslim communication route—that is, the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Route [Put AVNOJ-a] connecting Sarajevo, Travnik, Jajce, and Bihac?

[Lukic] We have discussed that. Even the representatives of some other countries have asked us something to that effect. There are two reasons, the first being the fact that they had to give us back a certain percentage. Of course, they gave back what they chose to give back, not what we wanted. On the other hand, they obviously wanted to create a buffer zone between the western part of the Muslim state, so to speak, and its eastern part, or better yet between the Bihac and Travnik regions. That was blindingly obvious. It is nevertheless important, however, regardless of the fact that we could not retrieve some other areas, that we regained those areas, especially the valuable forested areas.

[Ucur] The Sarajevo Serbs, who are practically left without their part of the city, seem to have the most reason to be upset over the Dayton territorial demarcation. What was the discussion on Sarajevo like in Dayton and why was the Muslim option — that Sarajevo remain unified and undivided — accepted?

[Lukic] I must admit that we did not take part in the final discussion about the demarcation, and the demarcation of Sarajevo shocked us. We simply could not accept that, and that is why our delegation did not initial the agreement. However, I still think that this part of the work has not been properly or fairly done and that this could have been settled in a much more reasonable manner, because the Serbs have always lived there. The Serbs live there today and a part of that territory should belong to the Serb side in order to avoid sending more people into exile, as was done in Krajina, etc.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Ucur] What will happen to Brcko and will the Serbs be given a corridor wide enough to possibly allow air traffic over the area?

[Lukic] I hope that the problem of Brcko will be resolved according to a principle we adopted: first, that the 49:51 ratio will be preserved and, second, that the territory is connected, integral. Consequently, if we do not get the 10 nautical miles at Brcko for our corridor, that means that our territory would not be integral. After all, many demands of the Muslims and even of the Croats have been met, regardless of the degree of their satisfaction. It would be fair to solve this matter to our advantage, because it seems that — based on what has been done in all areas, at Jajce, Teslic, Doboj, or elsewhere, not to mention Sarajevo — there is a good reason to expand the corridor to what it should be—10 nautical miles.

[Ucur] Supposing everything remains as planned by the Dayton agreement, what resources will stay in the Serb Republic, considering the fact that most energy potential, industry, and mineral resources belongs to the so-called Muslim-Croat federation?

[Lukic] Regardless of the losses on the upper course of the Una River, the Sana River, and the upper course of the Vrbas, I am convinced that we still have a sizable economic potential, especially with the return of the part of the territory of Mrkonjic Grad and Sipovo Municipalities; that is, parts of the Petrovac and Glamoc Municipalities; first of al, we will get valuable forested areas.

[Ucur] Thank you, Mr. Lukic, on behalf of our viewers.

SDS Committee Says Parts of Accord 'Inhumane'

AU2811210095 Banj Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Executive Committee of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] of the Serb Lands held a session in Pale today, at which the results of the agreement initialed in Dayton were discussed.

Pointing out that the greatest result of many years' fighting is the creation of the Serb Republic, the SDS Executive Committee stated that some parts of the agreement, particularly those regarding territory, are unjust and inhumane.

In the announcement issued after the session, the SDS Executive Committee proposes that the government of the Serb Republic draw up a comprehensive plan for preserving the unity of the population, its property, and the state property as soon as possible. It proposed that a position be taken on this issue at the next session of the party's main committee, which is scheduled for 30 November.

Preparing the session of the main committee, at which the plan for the activities of the SDS is going to be presented, the Executive Committee emphasized that everything must be done on the ground to preserve what has been achieved — the state and the freedom of the Serb people.

Apart from the members of the SDS Executive Committee, the (?deputy) presidents of the party's coordinating committees also took part in today's session.

Serb Opposition Member: 'Recess' Before New War

AU2811150895 Belgrade TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 23 Nov 95 p 2

[Statement by Pantelija Damjanovic, member of the Serb Patriotic Front, in Banja Luka; date not given: "A Paper State"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Now, after the war, which started precisely because of what Bosnia was like, a misshapen state within its internationally recognized borders, is back on the political scene just the same as before, although this is precisely the reason why the war started in the first place.

"Today, then, we have everything that we had before the war: an impossible Presidency, an impossible Assembly, a state on paper with monetary and foreign policy, and foreign trade all based in Muslim Sarajevo, although Sarajevo was never Muslim. I fear that nothing will be according to the provisions of the Dayton documents. We have been granted a brief recess, after which a new war will start for the same reasons that started the one that ended in Dayton.

"Meanwhile, we will be occupied by international forces, that is, the NATO alliance, which only yesterday was bombing us, and is now supposed to protect us and teach us democracy. As soon as the occupying forces leave, a new war will break out, whose natural course will solve the unsolved problems. The Muslims have not created a unitary Bosnia, the Serbs have not achieved their independent state, and the Croats did not achieve an even greater Croatia, one that would stretch all the way to the Drina River of which Tudjman is dreaming. Therefore, for all three nations, this is a clear defeat," Pantelija Damjanovic, member of the Serb Patriotic Front in Banja Luka, told TELEGRAF.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Pale Serbs To Sue Media Over 'Smear Campaign'

AU2811141595 Paris AFP in English 1354 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov 28 (AFP) — Bosnian Serb leaders, increasingly isolated since the Dayton peace accord, Tuesday [28 November] accused Belgrade and the Yugoslav press of conducting a smear campaign against them and threatened legal proceedings.

The comments were contained in a statement from the Defence Ministry of the self-styled Bosnian Serb republic which were carried by SRNA, the Bosnian Serb news agency.

The ministry was angered by Monday's coverage in the state-controlled Yugolav press which gave full credit to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic for concluding the peace deal.

"After the discredit inflicted on the president of the (Bosnian) Serb Republic (Radovan Karadzic) on the international scene," the Yugoslav media are now seeking to discredit other leaders", the ministry said in a statement.

The Defence Ministry, headed by Milan Ninkovic, said it would soon start legal proceedings against the relevant media organisations.

He accuses them of trying to drive a wedge between Bosnian Serb leaders who back the Dayton accord and those who oppose it.

They also allege that Belgrade television "manipulated" a remark by Ninkovic the day after the Dayton accord — by cutting out his references to Bosnian Serb leaders and only referring to his praise of Milosevic.

Belgrade television reported that Ninkovic said the loss of some Serb-held areas in Bosnia was secondary compared to the importance of the peace accord.

The television station also said he stressed the "big role" played by Milosevic.

Meanwhile, the Belgrade daily [VECERNJE] NOVOSTI attacked the speaker of the Bosnian Serb parliament, Momcilo Krajisnik, in an article published on November 23 under the title "Krajisnik torpedoes the peace".

Krajisnik, who is also number two in the Bosnian Serb hierarchy, condemned as unjust the U.S.-brokered peace accord as soon as it was signed.

The newspaper warned that Krajisnik's stance could spark "a new war", this time against "the whole world", and result in the total isolation of the Bosnian Serb republic.

The Defence Ministry accuses NOVOSTI of charging that Krajisnik intended to hand over northern Bosnian towns to the Moslem-Croat federation in exchange for Sarajevo.

Official Yugoslav propaganda has also been accused of trying to downgrade the Bosnian Serb leadership to a "local level" and thereby deprive the Bosnian Serb republic of the characteristics of a state inside Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The ministry described the Dayton accord as the result of Bosnian Serb "military defeats" rather than Milosevic's peace policy.

This particular remark reflects a deepening of the conflict between Bosnian Serb civilian and military leaders.

Several days after the Dayton accord, the pro-Milosevic daily POLITIKA called for an investigation into massacres their troops were accused committing in July in the Moslem enclave of Srebrenica.

If these accusations are false, the daily said, the Bosnian Serb authorities should "start an enquiry in the presence of the (UN tribunal for the former Yugoslavia) and dig up areas where it is alleged there are mass graves."

However, it said, "if the witness accounts are true" they must "mercilessly... and without waiting for the (UN tribunal) find the assassins and criminals and bring them before Serb judges."

Pale Serb Opposition Supports Accord 'Absolutely'

AU2811142395 (Clandestine) Radio Krajina in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Considering the current political situation in the wake of the peace agreement initialed in Dayton, the Club of Independent Deputies of the Serb Republic national assembly made the following statement yesterday:

The Club of Independent Deputies is absolutely behind the Dayton peace agreement because we believe that, regardless of how painful it may be, it is the only thing that the Serb side could get under the circumstances. Furthermore, the club of independent deputies contends that Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, has done a major part of the job and that peace became our orientation the moment he came to the helm of the Serb negotiating team. The club of independent deputies thinks that, at this moment, any adventurous behavior would be lethal to the interests of the Serb

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

nation and that the realization of the peace agreement; that is, the establishment of full cooperation between the Serb Republic and the international community, is the only right way. The independent deputies club believes that it is necessary to organize free democratic elections in the Serb Republic as soon as possible to give true legitimacy to the representatives of the Serb Republic in future talks with the international community. To that end, we demand that a new government, whose primary goal would be the organization of new elections, be elected as soon as possible. We demand that the national assembly chairman immediately convene a session of the parliament. At the session, the club of independent deputies will again demand that the constitution be changed and that Banja Luka be declared the capital of the Serb Republic. The club of independent deputies hereby informs the public about a decision to form a new political party soon, which will take part in future elections.

Heads of Serb Wartime Presidencies View Plan

AU2811184195 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The citizens of the Banja Luka strongly condemn the Dayton agreement due to the grossly unfair territorial demarcation in former Bosnia-Herzegovina and say that crucial corrections must be made in the next couple of days.

Milos Milic, president of the Strbac Municipality wartime presidency, believes this war was imposed on the Serbs in the first place, while they are now forced to accept peace. He added that the Dayton agreement forces the Serbs to relinquish their centuries-old homeland.

Dragan Celic, president of the Mrkonjic Grad Municipality wartime presidency, says that peace is the only positive solution for the people of the Serb Republic offered by the Dayton agreement.

Nedeljko Rasula, president of the Sanski Most Municipality wartime presidency, warned today that there will be no peace in former Bosnia-Herzegovina until a just solution to the territorial demarcation between the Serb Republic and the Croat-Muslim federation is found. Rasula emphasized that the Dayton agreement leaves the Serb Republic shortchanged by 2000 square kilometers of territory and added that the mostimportant thing now is to find a solution for the territory of Grmec and Podgrmec, which 200,000 Serbs were to leave, as well as the status of Serb Sarajevo.

Bosnian Serb Trade Unions Support Dayton Accord

LD2811193295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1648 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 28 Nov (TANJUG) — The president of the Bosnian Serb Republic's trade union federation, Cedo Volas, said today that the federation "supports the basic results achieved in Dayton and the suspension of sanctions against Yugoslavia because peace is one of its priorities."

He told a news conference in Banja Luka that the struggle for the lifting of sanctions against the Serb Republic was the next task of the federation because it was "a crucial issue for innocent workers and the entire population.

Volas said that some of Dayton solutions were not favorable for the Serb people — the status of Sarajevo and the [Posavina] corridor toward Serbia in particular — but expressed his hope that more acceptable solutions could be found in a peaceful manner. [passage omitted]

He said he did not expect any improvements from the prime minister designate, Rajko Kasagic, who had ignored the trade unions so far and blocked the media presentation of trade union standpoints.

According to Volas, this was possible because Kasagic's attitude to the trade unions had been loyally followed by Minister of Information Miroslav Toholj and the editor in chief of the [Banja Luka-based daily] GLAS SRPSKI, Gordan Matrak. Volas said the trade unions would continue to ask for their resignation.

Electoral Defeat for Karadzic's SDS Predicted

AU2911085895 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Nov 95 p 3

[Report on a news conference by Milorad Dodik, leader of the independent deputies in the Pale assembly, by Dragan Banjac in Banja Luka on 26 November: "New Regime — New People"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "We are waiting for the signing of the peace in Paris and, when we see what comes next, then we will be going into new elections. People of this region have to choose a government as soon as possible and the first to do this will be at a great advantage because if we are late, then it will be up to the international forces, who will have control over this area to a great extent, to do it," Milorad Dodik, president of the club of independent deputies in the people's assembly of the Serb Republic [Serb entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina], said yesterday.

At the beginning Dodik pointed out that in this way the characterization of the Serb nation ("that we are

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

mischievous"), which has been established in the world, could be avoided; and a new political organization that will soon be verified will "put the interests of the Serb nation in this region in first place, and we will not participate in the elections on the side of the present regime."

Asked whether in the "new course" from Banja Luka there was any influence, and to what extent, from the Belgrade center of power, Dodik said that they would not be able to act without good ties with Belgrade and that, if they are not currently at a satisfactory level, he would insist on them.

"Further, I expect that on the internal plane we will soon start working on the democratization of the media, so that before the elections we would be treated equally with all the other participants, so that the citizens should decide, for example, between ourselves and the United Left (JUL), the Radicals, or, for instance, the Socialists."

The neglect of the Banja Luka region and this biggest city in the Krajina [western Bosnia] should soon become a thing of the past. In Dodik's words, Banja Luka must regain the status of a city and the features that belong to it. Yet, there are fears that it might be pushed aside, in the shadow in which Banja Luka had earlier been in the unified republic, because Sarajevo had been stressed as the center, and later this was the case with Pale. "That is why a long time ago we asked for the constitution to be changed, because Banja Luka, according to its strength, its economy, its culture and its human potentials, deserves to be a strong center and that will have to be the case in the future distribution of power in the Serb entity. The main mistake of the war from the political point of view is precisely Sarajevo and that is why we have experienced defeat, because we should have fought in the middle of Sarajevo. Further, our leadership made a huge mistake in not being stationed, for example, in Lukavica instead of sitting in Pale. It has also turned out to have been a mistake that our vice-presidents Nikola Koljevic and Biljana Plavsic did not remain in the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina (they should not have withdrawn officially), in the top authorities of Bosnian regime, even though it was not possible, even though it did not function."

Dodik sees the Banja Luka area as using the money of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, whereas the relationship with the Muslim- Croat Federation could "to the extent to which it will exist" be later regulated with some other currency, for example German marks or dollars.

There were some touchy questions as well. The president of the independent deputies club of the people's assembly of the Serb Republic says that there is already an initiative for an early convening of the assembly and that they are insisting that it should be held in their town ("Banja Luka is not shunning its opportunities to get involved in the solution of the issues of Serb territory around Sarajevo or the Serbs who have remained on the territory of the Muslim-Croat federation. Mirko Pejanovic, Ljubomir Berberovic, and Miro Lazovic will stay there and I do not believe in any political improvement on their side concerning the unfication of the Serb people in the future, but it should not be forgotten that in the course of the war they have done certain things for the Serb people in Sarajevo"). "We have to develop multicultural life in this area, because that is our future," Dodik said. Asked about the "further use of the highest military and political leadership" he answered that — "new people will come." The name of his party is still unknown, the only certain thing being that it will not include the well known (national) prefix [Serb]; and when asked to give his prognosis about the winner, Dodik only said that he knew who was not going to win the elections. The loser would be the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS].

Serbs Claim Croat Attacks in Posavina Area

LD2911115495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1140 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Nov 29 (TANJUG) — Regular Croatian army units stationed in the Orasje area in Posavina Tuesday night opened mortar and infantry weapons fire on Serb positions, in open violation of the Bosnian ceasefire agreement in force since last October 12.

Croatian units were firing most heavily tuesday evening from their positions 7 km south-east of Orasje on Serb villages west of Brcko, northern Bosnia, the Republika Srpska (Bosnian Serb state) army general headquarters announced Wednesday.

After several quiet days at all frontlines in Republika Srpska [R.S.], these were the heaviest attacks on Bosnian Serb army defense lines and R.S. territory.

There has been no official explanation of the reasons for the latest series of Croatian attacks in Posavina, but it is being linked with the resignation of the president of the Croat-Muslim Federation Kresimir Zubak and the dissatisfaction of some Croat circles with the resolution of the issue of Posavina, which belongs to Republika Srpska according to the Dayton peace accords.

Calm prevailed at all other frontlines in R.S. in the past 24 hours.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Bosnian Croats' Prlic on Implementing Peace Plan

LD2811175395 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At today's news conference in Mostar Jadranko Prlic, president of the government of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia and deputy prime minister of the government of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, spoke about the measures taken by Croat officials in the course of implementing the Dayton agreement. Ivan Krsitic reports:

[Kristic] Speaking about the Dayton agreement, Jadranko Prlic, prime minister of the government of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, first stressed the tasks facing the authorities. As for the deployment of NATO forces and the position of Bosnia-Herzegovina for the duration of their presence, Prlic said:

[Begin Prlic recording] Bosnia-Herzegovina is becoming in one way or another a protectorate of the international community. When I say a protectorate I mean it in a positive sense; that is, a governor of the central bank is a member, the powers of a top representative are exceptionaly high [as heard], and NATO forces have the right to do whatever they believe they should do. The commander of NATO forces passes a verdict in every dispute on the ground. Hence, the world has decided to make peace here. [end recording]

[Kristic] The organization of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation is defined so that it fully ensure equality for the Croat people, Prlic said.

[Begin Prlic recording] In the federation, the president of the federation will be a Croat. His deputy will be a Muslim-Bosnian. The president of the government will be a Muslim-Bosnian, his deputy, well, pretty much the same structure of the federation's government as it has been so far.

There will be a three-member presidency at the top of Bosnia-Herzegovina whereas a government or a council of ministers which will function at the level of this Bosnia-Herzegovina will comprise the presiding member of this council of ministers and probably another six ministers, including two Croats one of whom will be minister for foreign affairs. [end recording]

[Kristic] The territorial demarcation was dictated by the current military state of affairs on the ground. There was no way, indeed, of getting anything more in this respect, Jadranko Prlic stressed at today's news conference in Mostar.

Mostar Mayor Discusses Town's Prospects

AU2911130895 Sarajevo LJILJAN in Serbo-Croatian 15 Nov 95 p 2

["Exclusive" interview with Mostar Mayor Safet Orucevic by Enes Ratkusic; place and date not given: "In Dayton, Mostar Is United and So Will Be Sarajevo"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Ratkusic] The opinion that the Federation and thereby the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot exist without a united Mostar has obviously gained the necessary prominence, so the world factors decided to include it into the agenda of the Ohio meeting, which is primarily discussing global problems connected with the almost entire territory of the former Yugoslavia. How was that achieved?

[Orucevic] Above all, as a city with a former organization that included the presence of three peoples and a multiethnic life in the region, Mostar represents Bosnia-Herzegovina on a smaller scale. So far, it has obviously been an insoluble question between the Bosniak and Croatian side at all talks that pertained to implementing the Federation, so, being a critical issue, it was separated and set within a circle so it would not be discussed. Just as in the case of Sarajevo, it was left to be put under EU Administration and therefore be taken care of until the final solution. These two circles, the Mostar and Sarajevo ones, are two points, two knots, two main problems without which the solving of Bosnia-Herzegovina's problems is inconceivable. These circles have been drawn so that other things can be solved and they are left for the end. (Mate) Boban [former Croatian Democratic Community leader in Bosnia-Herzegovina] has drawn this circle here. Boban was one of those people who agreed to the circle called the EU. When Herzeg-Bosnian leaders did not manage to turn the Bosniak population in this region into Croats of Islamic confession, they tried to do so militarily. However, Bosniaks in these regions have confirmed and protected their identity with arms. This circle then had to be made as a key for the final solution to all Bosniak-Croat disagreements. At the very beginning, after the Washington agreement was signed and Mostar transferred to the EU, we have won the first diplomatic victory embodied in the "memorandum on understanding." Prime Minister Silajdzic said that it is the strongest paper to be signed, apart from those signed in Washington and Vienna! In this paper, which was also signed by the other side, we virtually defended all principles upon which the struggle for Bosnia as a state lies. This paper was also signed by [Federation President Kresimir] Zubak and [Croat Mostar Mayor Mijo] Brajkovic, who have thereby also accepted all principles that we have always advocated but they believed that they would not

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

be forced to implement the paper. That agreement was a long way from the concepts they advocated. Europe was given the task of implementing that here in Mostar. [Special Coordinator for Sarajevo William] Eagleton was given a similar task in Sarajevo, but has done nothing. Despite the fact that his directions were not implemented, we did not allow Europe to fall into lethargy in Mostar at any moment! We waged a fierce diplomatic battle for 14 months, warning the world of the debacle of the Koschnick administration, that is, the debacle of Europe, in Mostar, if Koschnick fails to implement the memorandum on understanding, well knowing how far it is from what the Croat side was advocating. With our political behavior, however, we demonstrated that there really are two sides in Mostar—a light, humane, tolerant one and the other one, dark and immersed in extreme nationalism and fascism.

[Ratkusic] The world seems to have understood the essence of the problem you are talking about.

[Orucevic] We were in fact the ones whose wise diplomatic behavior disclosed to the whole world the intentions of our federal partners. In fact, we not only revealed the intentions of our federal partners, but also of their patrons from Croatia. Mostar has taken off their clothes and brought them naked before the international community, where they had no more arguments against us. The attempt to encircle a territory on which a single people will be deciding and living, where laws of the underground and all kinds of intolerance will rule, has thereby definitely collapsed.

[Ratkusic] The persistence on the concept of a unified Mostar has obviously brought results. What has in fact been agreed upon, that is, signed in Dayton?

[Orucevic] It is clear to the international community that the main core of the so-called Herzeg-Bosnia with all its institutions is in Mostar and that it is only trying to find a way to postpone the implementation of the Federation and to keep the present situation, so that that part of the Federation would join the confederation with Croatia, which is, in fact, only the realization of the project of Greater Croatia. The entire international public is now opposed to this wing. It could be clearly felt in Dayton. When the negotiations in Ohio began, due to these political interests, based only on the personal interests of Herzeg-Bosnia leaders, Croats did not want to negotiate on the Federation until they tried to realize their "Mostar concept." Of course, the world did not accept that, called us and definitely halted the issue. In the wake of Dayton, it is definitely clear that Mostar will be a unified city with several municipalities, the city based on the principles of a European city such as Brussels, for instance! As such, it can become a model for organizing other cities in which authorities should also be established with the full respect of ethnic rights based on the European charter on local administration.

Sarajevo will be solved in the same way as Mostar. The model I am talking about has been proposed by the EU. According to this document, the basic functions belong to the city and not to municipalities. Now, there is criticism on the part of the Muslim Bosniak Organization who say that such an organization is expensive. That is true. However, this is the preliminary form of organization. If it is expensive, we shall combine those forms. After all, life will determine all future currents. The war, including the bloodshed, was much more expensive, but was waged nevertheless. The return of peace and freedom to the territories cannot be limited for any reasons of expense. Therefore, this is the initial model of organization and it will certainly develop in the best possible and the most functional way, with full respect toward what we define as ethnic. What is important is that this model of setting up our city in future will render impossible, that is exclude, any possible ethnic domination by any of the three entities. It would not be possible to make a single decision involving ethnic interests without a consensus. This is the greatest advantage this model has.

[Ratkusic] When should the Dayton agreement decision start being implemented?

[Orucevic] As of 1 December, we will have unlimited crossing over from the eastern to the western part of the town and vice versa, except for people subject to military service. After the Government of the Federation and the Republic—that is, the government of the Federation—starts implementing its measures on the entire territory, this will apply to all Mostar citizens, regardless of age. By the new year, all obstacles will have to be removed on the entire territory of the Federation, including Mostar.

[Ratkusic] Those meeting in Dayton, apart from the people who were initiating peace and fighting for it, were the Balkan admirers of "geography," I primarily mean Tudjman and Milosevic. With what decisiveness do the international factors appear and what status does the Bosnian delegation enjoy?

[Orucevic] The only ones to breathe freely in Dayton are Izetbegovic and his delegation!? The Bosnian state president is the only one to be morally and mentally relaxed at the moment! All others are under pressure. Both sides. I was impressed by the following words from Izetbegovic: "We stand between two options — to divide Bosnia or power. We have decided not to give Bosnia away!" The Bosnian delegation, therefore, will not accept any document that will be to the detriment

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

of state sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the country.

[Ratkusic] Finally, Mr. Mayor, I would like to ask you a question pertaining to the implementation of everything that has been signed. What are the possibilities of its being affirmed, that is, implemented, or negated, or, to be more precise, prolonged, deviated, and the like?

[Orucevic] The key issue that will solve the problem of Mostar and the entire project of the Federation is the people's return to Stolac, Jajce, Bugojno, etc. This will represent a sign that the Croats have accepted the Federation and Bosnia-Herzegovina. At the same time, this will represent a defeat of those forces that thwarted and prevented the moves made to date with a view to creating room for implementing their own political concept at the cost of Bosnia and its entirety. It was Mostar that initiated all these processes. Thanks to the Mostar problem, the world has realized what intentions the enemies of Bosnia have. The Croat side has also finally understood that the world, as well as we, mean this seriously and I must say that they have shown cooperativeness. Mijo Brajkovic sees such a document as a guarantee for the protection of the Croat people's interests and [Croatian Defense Minister] Gojko Susak has told me personally that he will make efforts to have the signed document implemented.

Poll Suggests Majority Supports Dayton Accord

AU2911121995

[FBIS Editorial Report] Sarajevo DNEVNI AVAZ carries on page 6 of its 24 November issue an opinion poll conducted by the "AVAZ Agency for Monitoring Public Opinion" entitled "Sixty-Nine Percent of Bosnians Support the Peace Agreement." The poll was conducted by telephone on a randomly selected sample of 300 respondents in Sarajevo, Tuzla, and Zenica. All the results are presented in a total of eight pie charts. The accompanying text by correspondent Fadil Mandal states that "according to the results of AVAZ's poll conducted among the citizens of Sarajevo, Tuzla, and Zenica, Bosnian public opinion regarding the peace settlement is already clearly outlined. Thus, generally speaking, the great majority of Bosnians support the Dayton document, but the percentage of positive answers varies.

The citizens of Sarajevo are the least dissatisfied with the solutions offered (particularly for the city), while negative answers are more frequent in Tuzla and Zenica, which is not surprising, given the large number of refugees in the region."

The polling agency asked the respondents two questions:

1. "Do you support the peace agreement reached in Dayton between Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and the so-called Yugoslavia?" Respondents were given the choice of three answers: "Yes", "No", and "I do not know".

Overall, 69 percent of the respondents answered "Yes" to the question, 14 percent said "No," and 17 percent said "I do not know."

In Sarajevo, 72 percent said "Yes," 9 percent said "No," and 19 percent said "I do not know."

In Tuzla, however, 64 percent said "Yes," 16 percent said "No," while 20 percent said "I do not know."

In Zenica, the number of positive answers is slightly higher: 69 percent said "Yes," 20 percent said "No", while 11 percent said "I do not know."

2. "In your opinion, did the final version of the peace agreement for Bosnia and the Bosnia-Herzegovina negotiating delegation headed by President of the Presidency Alija Izetbegovic,

a) achieve more than was expected,

b) achieve results that could realistically be expected,

c) failed to fulfill expectations, or

d) I do not know."

Overall, 59 percent of the respondents believe that "b" is the right answer, 14 percent said "a," 16 percent opted for "c," while 11 percent opted for "d," that is, they were undecided.

When broken down according to cities, the following results emerge:

In Sarajevo, 63 percent opted for "b," 16 percent for "a," while 11 percent opted for "c". The remaining 10 percent were undecided.

In Tuzla, 54 percent opted for "b," only 7 percent opted for "a,", 23 percent felt that "c," was the right answer, while 16 percent were undecided.

In Zenica, 53 percent opted for "b," 17 percent opted for "a," 20 percent opted for "c," and 10 percent opted for "d."

Commentary Says Brcko May Cause Another War

AU2911113895 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) in Serbo-Croatian 23 Nov 95 p 2

[Commentary by Sejad Luckin: "Seam for Divided Bosnia-Herzegovina"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tired soldiers have always greeted the end of war in an almost identical way —

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

firing into the air with the weapons that they would soon relinquish. However, on the night when the leaders of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, and Croatia initialed the agreement in Dayton, and Christopher, Bildt, and the others gave speeches praising yet another diplomatic victory — Bosnia remained silent.

After four years of war, and hundreds of thousands of dead, its people did not have the energy for joy, and even less reason.

Swallowing the Bitter Pill

"In the situation as it is, and the world as it is, we could not achieve a better peace," Alija Izetbegovic said at the initialing ceremony at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base.

Emotions are not allowed in politics. Izetbegovic most certainly did not like shaking hands with Milosevic, several times even during the ceremony in Dayton. He knew it was a bitter pill he had to swallow for the sake of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its peace.

However, after three weeks of diplomatic wrangling, the president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency has most cause to be satisfied. The main values of the Dayton agreement for Bosnia-Herzegovina are that it brings peace and guarantees an integral state. Momcilo Krajisnik's statement that Pale "will not sign either the maps or the plan" is perhaps the best assessment of the validity of the Dayton agreement for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The reaction of the Pale leaders is understandable. The creation of an integral state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, however deeply divided internally it might be between the federation and the Serb part, is the end of the greater Serbian dream. They are also aware of the fact that their reward for obeying without question the nationalistic leaders in Belgrade will be not a status of national heroes but a bench in The Hague and political death. They have realized that Milosevic has sold them out in order to save himself.

For Bosnia-Herzegovina and its people, however, it is far more important to find a cure for some internal traumas. The internal division will be too deep to be wiped out in the next few years. Ejup Ganic, federation vice president and Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency member, said at the time of the initialing ceremony that his thoughts were "with the refugees from Srebrenica, and all those who have lost everything in this war." It would be a complete illusion to imagine that the refugees will return to their homes soon, that the victim and the murderer will live side by side, and that they will be reconciled to become again, as they used to be, good neighbors.

Burying the Illusions

On the contrary, it is more likely that peace will bring a new wave of ethnic cleansing, the difference this time being that people will leave of their own will, without too much nudging. For a long, long time it will not be possible to speak of Bosnia as the multicultural, multiconfessional, and multiethnic community it used to be. The people here will live in one state during that time, but — with the exception of larger cities — they will be well separated from each other.

The problem of refugees, unfortunately, is not the only wound on the destroyed body of Bosnia that has been left untreated in Dayton. Brcko is another one of these wounds. Leaving the final fate of this town to international arbitration is more than a Solomonic solution. Dayton presented a unique opportunity to get all the problems out in the open and remove the possible causes of a future war. The manner in which Brcko was taken off the agenda opens the possibility of this town serving as a reason for a new armed conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also between Croatia and Serbia. After all, one should not forget that the influence of the Bosnia- Herzegovina delegation on settling the status of Brcko and Posavina was neutralized by the agreement between Milosevic and Tudjman. If one wants to seek the culprits for the sale of Posavina, then all the accusations should primarily be directed at Belgrade and Zagreb.

Sarajevo — Heart of Bosnia-Herzegovina

Sarajevo, too, could prove to be a stumbling block in the implementation of the Dayton agreement. According to the agreement, most of the city should be under the control of the federal authorities. With Ilidza, Hadzici, Vogosca, and Ilijas, and the airport, the most important roads in and out of the city would be open, and the main communal facilities and energy supply stations would be placed under federal control.

Regardless of the fact that the city will remain divided, it is extremely important that its fate was decided in Dayton, and that it will not be placed under international administration. The example of Mostar and the EU is illustrative enough of the ineffectiveness of the international community.

Many people will interpret this solution as betrayal of the principles for which they have fought, mostly only with words. However, one should not forget that as much as Sarajevans want a united city, the Pale people do not want it united. The loss of most of the city of Sarajevo is no less painful for Karadzic than the loss of Brcko. He is simply afraid that the specific type of life

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

in Sarajevo might become the prelude to a new Bosnia-Herzegovina, that the idea of coexistence can survive in this united city.

It is exactly from the example of Sarajevo that it is visible just how much Bosnia-Herzegovina achieved in Dayton. True, this victory will prove one only in the long term. However, those who think that Bosnia can be brought together again more rapidly should try doing so themselves with a gun in their hands. But in that case they have to know that this time it would not be only the Chetniks they would have to fight. They should know that this time even those who created the Dayton peace could turn against them, but that is one about one bird in the hand and two in the bush.

Commentary Protests 'Proposal for Disarmament'

AU2811185895 Sarajevo LJILJAN in Serbo-Croatian 22 Nov 95 p 17

[Unattributed commentary: "Proposal for Disarmament"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A well-informed correspondent at the Dayton peace talks commented humorously on its outcome: "Everything will develop in a typically American manner, like a happy ending in western movies: A sheriff with a golden star will approach a group of armed cowboys and take away their revolvers; the cowboys will scatter, the sheriff will smile, and the audience will sigh with relief and fall asleep. It is clear that the most afflicted person of all will be the poor Bosniak."

If, by a simple paradox, this unavoidable American way of thinking and behaving happens to be adopted, and it appears it has to be adopted, we, as the afflicted side, will have to wonder whether the peace initiated by the U.S. Administration has solely to do with their desire for peace, or is about something much more dangerous — the intention to break the Bosniaks' will to fight, which has existed among them for almost four years. It is clear that in Bosnia, the only obstacle to the phony peace is the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is the only barrier to genocide, ethnocide, and all-out holocaust in the region. For that reason, I guess, there are plenty of unclear and ambiguous things in the peace accord reached in Dayton, while only the clauses referring to disarmament of all sides are quite clear. The U.S. NATO troops and other "allies" are coming here to take away the arms from the Bosnian civilians! How, when even the Bosnian Army itself does not have enough arms to fight with? Easily, because the commander of the IFOR [Implementation Force for Bosnia] will personally determine how many troops and how many weapons the Bosnian Army may have. This is precisely what the Dayton plan envisages. The rest, which is a little more than two-thirds of the current number of troops, will be disarmed, declared civilians, and have to immediately hand over all of their arms to the NATO protectors, including small arms, explosive devices, and communications and other sorts of military equipment. Who refuses to do that, or units that refuse to disband, will be subject to military action by IFOR. That is to say, NATO troops will bomb, shell, or shoot at them, or, according to the Dayton treaty, "will use military force in order to secure cooperation." Thus, all the staff, the members of those units, will be relieved of their duties and will not be involved in further training and military activities.

Soap Opera Without Victors or Losers

The remaining staff of the Bosnian Army, which will not be organized according to its own decisions or estimates or according to decisions made by the Presidency, as its political superior, will be trained by private U.S. companies, which will carry out short training corses for money, as part of the U.S. military aid to the reinforcement of the defense ability of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Why?

Let us go back to the illustration at the beginning of the text. According to the U.S. scenario, there must be neither victors nor losers, because all the sides are equal. The sheriff takes away all the cowboys' revolvers. In other words, it is so because the sovereignty of Bosnia-Herzegovina is recognized only on paper. Even the first clause of the Agreement on Military Aspects of the Peace Accord shows that, within Bosnia-Herzegovina, commitments prescribed by this agreement apply equally to the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and to the Serb Republic, and that each of these entities will be subject to actions taken by IFOR aimed at enforcing those decisions, if that proves necessary. That means, the agreement refers to two entities that are equally responsible.

What kind of sovereignty can this be if the commander of IFOR — let us remember Morillon, Rose, Smith... — has the exclusive right to determine the rules and procedures of command and control actions taking place in the air space over Bosnia-Herzegovina, or, if necessary, to suspend the civilian air traffic or non-combat air activities? Furthermore, the commander of IFOR is authorized to determine appropriate rules for the control and regulation of military traffic on the ground on the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, including movements of military forces.

What will the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Directorate for Control of Air Traffic, the General Staff

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

of the Army, the Military Police of the Army, the MUP [Interior Ministry] and the civil police do? The sole commander is, above all, the legal institutions of this internationally recognized state.

At the same time, IFOR will have complete and unobstructed freedom of movement by land, air, or water throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina. It will have the right to choose, maneuver, dwell in, or use any regions or devices in order to implement its tasks. Given a constitutional clause on the equal participation of all three peoples in the parliament and the government, where each side will have a right of veto, and another on the Constitutional Court, that will be made up on symmetrical basis plus judges from abroad, as the arbiter in such cases, then we are obviously dealing here with a protectorate over Bosnia. And not only that — it is about the suspension of democracy that is so much cherished by the Americans and the West in general. Our democracy, unfortunately, is not being suspended by cannibals or fundamentalists, but rather by the Americans and the West, using unprecedented methods of blackmail.

If it does not suit them, why have the Serbs accepted the plan? That is, if the agreement, in view of its provisions, is also against their interests? Some well-informed circles say that they have accepted it chiefly because Milosevic himself negotiated the deal, rather than the Bosnian Serbs. And, at the moment, he is interested only in the lifting of the sanctions. He has already received guarantees from the Russian side that the Russians, by their veto, will not let sanctions be imposed on Serbia by the UN Security Council ever again. Therefore, according to the same sources, the U.S. optimism is understandable regarding Milosevic's acceptance of the agreement, which, later on, he can ignore, just like he did many times in the past. The IFOR troops are not needed on the territory controlled by the Bosnian Army, that is, the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina, because our government has never violated any peace agreement that it has signed. Then why would it need foreign troops to implement the latest peace accord? The Bosnian Army is quite capable of accomplishing that by itself. IFOR may arrive here, but only in order to control the other, usually disobedient sides.

Defense Without Money — Surrender Without Defense

It also appears that there is no reason to believe that the 60,000 IFOR troops can keep the peace and protect the Bosniak people better than the 200,000 troops of the Bosniak army. Particularly when they withdraw to their camps. In that case, all possible doors will be opened to terrorism coming from the other side. How will those 60,000 troops be able to secure the return of refugees in the territories under the control of the inimical Serb Republic?

It is very dangerous that we have been given one year to implement the plan, even though this has not been precisely defined, while two years have been given for the implementation of the Serbian-Croatian peace accord on eastern Slavonia. One year could also mean a period of intensified pressure on the Bosniaks, until they are disarmed, weakened, and forced to accept any political settlement.

According to the peace plan, it is unclear who will prosecute war criminals, which is of major importance to the victims of the aggression. Why has IFOR so precisely defined the disarmament of civilians in the territory under the Bosnian Army's control, while the prosecution of war criminals is not mentioned at all? Who will do that in the Serb republic when those same war criminals will be directly involved in the authorities there? And what will happen if, after one year, when Clinton's election drama is over, the U.S. Congress passes a decision that the military mission of NATO and IFOR has failed, and that the U.S. troops are to withdraw from Bosnia? Just like UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] and the RRF [Rapid Reaction Force], which are leaving without having accomplished their assignment here. Who will defend us then? A Bosnian Army that is disarmed, dismantled, and disorganized, with soldiers lacking the willpower to defend themselves and the free territories? On the other hand, our aggressors will further have reserve armies across the Drina and Sava Rivers to rely on.

According to the Dayton plan, the Bosnian Army will be disarmed within 120 days after the signing of the agreement (paragraphs a, b and c of Clause 5, Section III).

If defense is regarded all over the world as a fundamental question regarding sovereignty and central power, whereas, according to the Dayton plan, it falls under the authority of the Federation, is not the Constitution of the Republic violated and the Republic stripped of its sovereignty and legitimacy in an extremely delicate way, in order to promote the Federation? Since the Federation is an entity like the Serb Republic, then it means that the Serb entity will take care of its defense independently, like the Federation. So I must ask myself: Is this supposed to be something new, even though we have already experienced it so many times already in this horrible war, in our own homes and front yards? Finally, why doesn't the budget of the Federation anticipated by the Dayton agreement allot any means for

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

defense in 1996? It is not quite clear how defense is supposed to function without money. Perhaps that is precisely the catch — surrender without defense.

[Box, p 17]

a) The agreed demarcation zone will be expanded by 2 km on this side of the agreed demarcation line. No arms save those of IFOR will be allowed within the agreed demarcation zone, as is anticipated herein. No person can keep or own any sort of firearm or explosive within the 4 km zone without special permission given by IFOR. Persons who violate this clause will be subject to military action by IFOR, including the use of necessary force in order to secure cooperation. Particular provisions for the following locations are as follows:

b) Within 120 days after this agreement's coming into force, in accordance with Article X, Paragraph 2(a), the troops that cannot be accommodated in garrisons or facilities meant for that purpose will be demobilized, as is prescribed in the sub-paragraph above.

The demobilization will consist of the confiscation of all weapons found with army staff, including small arms meant for individual use, explosive devices, communications equipment, vehicles, and all other military equipment. All staff, members of those units, will be dismissed from army service and will not be involved in further training and other military activities.

Turkey's Ciller, Izetbegovic Hold News Conference

TA2811193295 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1800 GMT 28 Nov 95

[Report by Metin Gokce from Sarajevo]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] Prime Minister Tansu Ciller, who arrived in Sarajevo today, met with Bosnia-Herzegovina President Alija Izetbegovic at the presidential palace. The meeting lasted over one hour. Also attending the meeting were Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Muhamed Secirbegovic and Onur Oymen, Turkish Foreign Ministry under secretary.

Later, a civil aviation agreement was signed between Turkey and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The agreement was signed by Ibrahim Koluder, Bosnia-Herzegovina transportation and communications minister, and by Oymen. Ciller and Izetbegovic also attended the signing ceremony.

After the signing ceremony, Ciller and Izetbegovic held a joint news conference. Ciller recounted that she conducted her first visit to Sarajevo as a mother in order to draw the attention of world public opinion to the human tragedy experienced in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Today's visit, Ciller remarked, is the first official visit to Bosnia-Herzegovina in the wake of the Dayton agreement. Pointing out that the initialing of the agreement launched a new peace process in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the prime minister declared that Turkey wants to play an active role in the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina. She recalled that the Organization of the Islamic Conference assigned Turkey with the coordination of the assistance to be extended by Islamic countries to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Ciller said that Turkey will continue to help Bosnia- Herzegovina in every way in the future as well.

In turn, Izetbegovic announced that he held a very beneficial meeting with Ciller, in which the latest steps toward peace were assessed. Izetbegovic said that he wants Turkey to participate in the next phases of the peace process, namely the Brussels talks and the signing ceremony in Paris.

After the joint news conference, Ciller attended a dinner hosted in her honor by Izetbegovic. Upon emerging from the presidential palace, Ciller was cheered by the crowds waiting outside. Ciller also visited the (Kovaci) cemetery, laid a wreath, and prayed. The prime minister then departed Sarajevo. [passage omitted]

Leaders Discuss Reconstruction

AU2811201795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] As we have already reported, Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller visited Sarajevo as a guest of Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, today. After the talks of the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation, which was also comprised of Presidency Members Ivo Komsic and Mirko Pejanovic, with the delegation of Turkey, President Izetbegovic and Prime Minister Ciller held a news conference. Senada Cumurovic reports:

[Begin recording] [Cumurovic] Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller arrived for her second visit to Bosnia-Herzegovina, which she characterized as historic, in the first civilian aircraft that landed at Sarajevo airport since the beginning of the war. In the hope that a new era of prosperity and peace is dawning for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Mrs. Ciller also said:

[Ciller, in English with superimposed translation into Serbo-Croatian] All the time, the Bosnians have defended their honor and they have earned peace. Turkey is wiling to help in all aspects in the period that will come after Dayton, just as it has helped during the war. We are willing to take part in the training of your

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

soldiers within the framework of the Dayton accord, and we also intend to take part in the reconstruction of Bosnia after the restoration of peace.

[Cumurovic] At the Islamic Conference in Malaysia, Turkey was appointed a coordinator of the Islamic aid for Bosnia, which has recently been confirmed in Istanbul, Mrs. Ciller stressed:

[Ciller] We view the restructuring of Bosnia not only as an economic issue, but also see it as moving power for the restoration of peace in Bosnia.

[Cumurovic] President Izetbegovic, who was the host of the Turkish prime minister, begun his address at an extremely well-attended news conference with a hope for peace in the future. Regarding today's talks, he said:

[Izetbegovic] Today's talks were exhausting and very correct. We discussed the future participation of the friendly Turkey in the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We would like to see Turkey actively participate in the Peace Implementation Conference, whose permanent headquarters is in Brussels, and also to see it actively participate in the forthcoming Paris conference and in the training of our army.

[Cumurovic] President Izetbegovic also thanked the Turkish Government for Turkey's permanent political, moral, and material assistance to our country, from gaining independence, throughout the war, to the present day. Asked to comment on the manner and details of military cooperation between Turkey and Bosnia-Herzegovina, Izetbegovic reminded us of last night's speech by President Clinton, who promised the training and [word indistinct] of the Bosnian Army. Within this task, I see a significant place for Turkey, Izetbegovic said. The modalities of this cooperation will be defined over the coming period.

Do you believe that the Bosnian Serbs will cooperate in accordance with the Dayton Accord? was one of the questions for Bosnia-Herzegovina President Alija Izetbegovic:

[Izetbegovic] As for the circus that is now being made around town about the civilians — we are not referring to them. We guarantee them full security. Where are the soldiers who have targeted the town for 44 months? They are not appearing on CNN now. We will guarantee full security to the civilians. However, by the same token, we guarantee that we will hunt down and prosecute the murderers who have targeted this town for 44 months, who burnt down the library in Sarajevo, attacked the hospital here several hundred times, targeted children's playgrounds, and created the biggest children's cemetery in the world in Sarajevo. No, the soldiers will not be able to stay. We do not guarantee their security, however, this is guaranteed to the civilians.

[Cumurovic] The last question at a 30-minute news conference concerned the position of the war criminals. There will be no peace in Bosnia nor will the Dayton Accord be implemented if Karadzic and Mladic remain at the head of the Bosnian Serbs, Izetbegovic said. He explained that the Dayton Accord envisions that the persons indicted by The Hague war crimes tribunal cannot continue to hold public office and, from that point, their appearances in public are not legal.

At the beginning of today's news conference by Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller and Bosnia-Herzegovina President Alija Izetbegovic, Ibrahim Koluder, minister in the Government of the Republic and the Federation, signed an agreement on air traffic between Turkey and Bosnia-Herzegovina with his Turkish colleague, which will, among other things, create possibilities for including Bosnia-Herzegovina in the international air traffic system. [end recording]

Turkey Prepared To Help Train Army

AU2811192195 Paris AFP in English 1859 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 28 (AFP) — Turkey is prepared to help train Bosnia's regular army, visiting Prime Minister Tansu Ciller said here Tuesday.

"The modalities of the military cooperation will be defined later," she told a news conference, adding: "We also want to help with Bosnia's reconstruction."

"During the Islamic conference in Malaysia, Turkey was asked to coordinate the Islamic world's desire to help in the reconstruction of Bosnia," she added, referring to a session of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference. We do not envisage the reconstruction of Bosnia purely in economic terms but also as a means of ensuring the successful implementation of the peace accord."

A U.S.-brokered accord to end the Bosnian conflict was signed by the presidents of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia in the United States a week ago.

Turkey, Bosnia, Croatia Form Regional Police

LD2411175295 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Ivan Jarnjak, Bakir Alispahic, and Teoman Unusan, ministers of internal affairs of Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Turkey, respectively, held talks on the establishment of a joint police force of the three countries in the area of Velika Kladusa. After the talks they signed a joint protocol on the force. Andjelko Perincic has a report:

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Perincic] After signing the protocol the three ministers gave press statements recalling that the protocol is a document reinforcing the implementation of previous documents signed by heads of the three states. Croatian Minister Jarnjak said:

[Begin Jarnjak recording] By signing the protocol we have taken on the obligation to set up a tripartite police force: 50 percent from Bosnia-Herzegovina, 25 percent from Croatia, and 25 percent from Turkey. The police force will have 200 men. The action will begin on 1 December 1995, when the forces will begin gathering. What is important is that this is a condition for the creation of security conditions in this area so that people should begin to return. [end recording]

[Perincic] Sharing the views of his Croatian colleague and host, Bosnia-Herzegovina Minister Alispahic said:

[Begin Alispahic recording] The action of return of these refugees to the area of the municipality of Velika Kladusa and parts of other municipalities, primarily Cazin, has been in progress for a long time, but has not given expected results — i.e. the majority of refugees have not returned. In the light of the hard — not to call them inhuman — conditions in which they are living, we decided to take some activities and actions. I think that this is an exceptional step forward. [passage omitted]

IMF Offers Advice on National Bank, Currency

AU2411211195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Nov 95

[Report by Senada Cumurovic — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Cumurovic] It was said at a news conference today that one of the tasks of the IMF representatives who have already been visiting Sarajevo for two weeks is to help the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government implement its obligations, above all those from the part of the Dayton accord pertaining to setting up the Federation's financial system.

IMF Mission chief Scott Brown, who is the IMF director's assistant for Europe, spoke about the future institutional structure of the financial system of the Federation and the preparations being made on this.

[Brown, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] The banking system of the two parts of the Federation should be linked through an agency for issuing (?licenses) and regulating the work of the banks. The existing National Bank of Bosnia-Herzegovina will continue to operate until a new republican central bank is established, hopefully next year.

We may not be close to solving most of the issues, but I am pleasantly surprised with the intensity and quality of the government's preparations, as well as with the number and comprehensiveness of the agreements that have already been achieved in this short period.

[Cumurovic] National Bank Governor Kasim Omicevic also spoke about the formation of the federal monetary agency that will carry out part of the central bank's tasks until the National Bank of Bosnia-Herzegovina is established, as well as about some forthcoming activities.

[Omicevic] Our immediate goal is the [word indistinct] of membership in the IMF, thus opening the door to other international financial institutions. (?Through this work of ours) and the Dayton accords, the National Bank of Bosnia-Herzegovina still remains and will continue working. Its monetary policy also retains the orientation toward further stabilization of the dinar as the legal tender until we form the central bank of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina on the basis of the Dayton accords.

[Cumurovic] Deputy Finance Minister Izudin Kesetovic listed the five most important questions that were discussed at the talks, such as the legal regulations of the Republic and Federation, powers that ensue from the Dayton accord, the functioning of financial institutions, [word indistinct] services, and the issue of the budget.

Also presented at today's news conference was the first result of the talks between financial representatives of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the IMF in line with the Dayton accord,: The linking of the payment operations of the regions under control of the Croatian Defense Council and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, so that, beginning 27 November, legal entities from one region may pay in the other in conformity with internal payment operations. [passage omitted]

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Barricades Set Up To Stop Anti-Dayton Protests

AU2811140295 Paris AFP in English 1336 GMT 28 Nov 95

[Report by Peter Cunliffe-Jones]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Nov 28 (AFP)—More than 700 angry Bosnian Croats laid siege Tuesday to the opening of the new Croatian parliament, protesting at the terms of the Dayton peace agreement in the largest and angriest anti-government protest here in years.

Organisers said some 2,000 people had attempted to come from towns throughout the Posavina area of northern Bosnian but that police had stopped 11 coaches of protestors on the road.

The hundreds that came, mainly elderly women, screamed abuse at deputies and government officials when they appeared at windows of the Zagreb town hall building, where the temporarily rehoused parliament opened at 10:00 a.m. (0900 GMT).

Mass demonstrations are extremely rare in Croatia—unless organised by the government—and the size of the protest surprised bystanders.

Police set up barricades on roads leading into the area and controlled the entries and exits.

President Franjo Tudjman, who was attending the parliamentary opening in the town hall, which pressed into service while the house's normal home undergoes restoration, ignored calls to meet the crowd.

Tudjman's rightwing Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) party won an outright majority in October elections and was expected to give a vote of confidence in the government.

Under the Bosnia peace agreement, initialled by Tudjman last Tuesday in Dayton, Ohio, Croatia agreed to accept binding arbitration to settle the future of the traditionally Croat area of Bosnia, now held and claimed by the Bosnian Serbs.

The protestors said they wanted the area back.

An enraged man standing near the ring of police surrounding the entrance to the town hall building screamed: "Give us Tudjman so we can hang him."

"Give us back our children," a woman shouted.

The outbursts came in large part from the sense of betrayal of the 2,000 Bosnian Croats killed in the region since 1991. The protest in Zagreb followed similar demonstrations at Slavonski Brod, on the Bosnian-Croatian border, on Sunday and in the Adriatic port city of Dubrovnik Saturday.

The people attending the demonstration have put up with enough, said Ivica Tadic, a 37-year-old Bosnian Croat in the crowd.

After being shelled by the Serbs for four years, "we live in cellars, in stables, in refugee camps and now they sell us out to the Serbs," he said.

Demonstrators said they had asked for a statement to be read out in parliament declaring the Dayton agreement "illegal".

Deputies who emerged from the building to try to calm the crowd promised it would be read.

Slaven Letica, a former Tudjman adviser turned opposition politician, told AFP: "Tudjman is in a difficult position," after the Dayton agreement.

"His popularity rating is going to fall over the next few weeks. He has disappointed the refugees who were traditionally the biggest backers of his party."

The opposition parties have criticised Tudjman for "opening the door to land swaps" and are likely to milk the demonstrations for all they are worth, observers said.

Tudjman at Dayton also went back on a committment to reclaim militarily eastern Slavonia, the last Serb-held area of Croatia, agreeing instead to a negotiated return phased over one to two years.

But few see Tudjman as likely to go back on his deal now.

"If Tudjman were to attack now, he could kiss goodbye the normalisation of relations with Belgrade and would be hammered by the entire international community, running the risk of sanctions," a UN official told AFP Tuesday.

Granic on Procedure in Case of Prevlaka Exchange

AU2911110595 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Nov 95 p 3

[Report by M. Jeric on statement by Dr. Mate Granic, given in Dubrovnik: "Exchange of Prevlaka Only by Referendum!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "The Republic of Croatia has left the Dayton process intact with a firm recognition of its territorial integrity and, particularly after Security Council resolution number 1023, with one more totally positive reaffirmation of sovereignty over its every part—from the southernmost point of Dubrovnik-Neretva county to the northernmost point of Baranja," says Dr. Mate Granic, Deputy Prime Minister of the Croatian Government and Foreign Minister, at the beginning of his statement to SLOBODNA DALMACIJA,

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

thus reacting to the recent demand of the members of the County Assembly who invited him to explain the recent negotiations in Dayton with reference to the Prevlaka peninsula.

As Dr. Granic continues, according to "Dayton and the peace agreement, no point of the Croatian border will be changed, and Croatia has from the very beginning been saying that it will only accept this kind of peaceful agreement. As evidence of that is also the fact that there is no reference to Prevlaka in the peace agreement, nor to any other part of sovereign Croatian territory in that sense. After all, one of the basic preconditions and provisions of the peace agreement is the provision on mutual recognition of the three countries within their international borders."

Commenting on the question of Prevlaka and Ostro, regarding the announcements of their possible surrender to the Serbs in exchange for a part of eastern Herzegovina in the Dubrovnik hinterland, Dr. Granic, who is also the parliamentary representative for the region of the Dubrovnik-Neretva county, says:

"During the course of negotiations in Dayton, Serbian-Montenegrin representatives have repeatedly raised that question. The Croatian delegation remained consistent in its stand that this issue can in no way be discussed before mutual recognition within international borders occurs, and before a real normalization of the relations between the two states, as well as the peaceful agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina, takes place. In other words, there can be no discussion of such questions until all the legal and practical conditions are met to be able to do so within the bilateral relations of the two states, and on the basis of an internationally defined procedure and mechanisms in line with the basic European protocols that regulate mutual relations between countries. The decision on such talks could only be made based upon the evaluation of all the strategic and other interests of the Republic of Croatia. A proposal of any possible solution is subject to the signed constitutional procedure which, among other things, implicitly includes a two-thirds majority in the parliament and a referendum."

Regarding the public attitude in the Dubrovnik-Neretva county regarding the possible surrendering of a part of the area to the Serbs, Dr. Granic emphasizes that he fully understands the public mood in that district which, as he says, is caused, as in other parts of Croatia, mostly by conjecture, and it is not based upon the facts regarding the negotiations in Dayton. "As soon as my duties allow me, I will with pleasure accept the invitation of the County Assembly and introduce my voters to the stands and the policy of the Croatian leadership regarding the whole peace process and the solution," says Dr. Mate Granic at the end of the statement given to SLOBODNA DALMACIJA.

Zagreb Radio Reports Conditions in E. Slavonia

LD2811222395 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to certain indications, some Serbs in the still occupied Vukovar and Baranja are ready to collaborate with Croatian authorities. Marija Petrinovic reports:

Some of the present inhabitants of Vukovar are travelling to the border area with the Republic of Hungary and are giving their accounts. Members of the so-called [Serb] 11th Corps complain of hunger and exhaustion, according to a source, who adds that only the local rebels are better off as they can leave their positions once a week to go to Vukovar and the surrounding villages. They describe the poor conditions they live in while being under arms. The reality of the destroyed town of Vukovar, in addition to all kinds of violence, crime, hunger and cold, now has a new evil: drugs—the use of which, especially among the young, has reached undreamt of proportions.

In the less damaged villages of the Vukovar region, a fierce conflict is going on between the original inhabitants and settlers from Croatian areas liberated in the Lightening and Storm operations. A witness who wishes to remain anonymous for her own safety says that the local people are completely under the power of the vastly more numerous settlers. Villages, which were spared the destruction, like Lovas, a village which had a population of 92 percent Croats before the aggression have more inhabitants than they did in 1991. Compared with 1,650 inhabitants then, Lovas now has around 2,500 inhabitants, of which only 150 are original inhabitants. The source says that the village officials have recently been drawing up a kind of resettlement list and that the majority says they wish to change their place of residence. The example is cited of a local who was beaten up in his house in Lovas because he expressed his wish to remain and said that he felt secure because he had not broken the laws of the Republic of Croatia. While ordinary people live in uncertainty, the instigators of the rebellion have left eastern Slavonia.

Remembered for his evil deeds is a certain Ljuban Devetak, who was a paramilitary commander in Lovas and a manager of all socially-owned farms and who ordered the killing of approximately 80 Croats—who were forced into a minefield near a farm between 17 and 18 October 1991—and who has been living in Belgrade for the past 18 months.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

UN: Some 2,000 Serbs Could Die From Cold

AU2811164195 Paris AFP in English 1609 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Nov 28 (AFP)—Nearly 2,000 Croatian Serbs could die from cold and hunger this winter if they do not get immediate help from international aid organisations, a UN spokesman said in Zagreb on Tuesday.

More than 5,000 mainly elderly Serbs had suffered regular harassment since refusing to flee with 150,000 fellow Serbs when Croatian forces stormed the Krajina region in August, said Chris Gunness, citing UN reports.

"We estimate that 1,700 will not survive the winter," Gunness said.

In a letter sent Tuesday to the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), UN special envoy Kofi Annan asked the UN refugee agency "to intensify your efforts to meet the need of those people."

The United Nations in Croatia has been the only agency doing much for the Serbs who live generally in isolated houses, often deprived of fuel, food, lighting.

UN humanitarian teams have set up patrols taking people food and fuel and giving medical assistance.

But the UN mandate in Croatia runs out on November 30 and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has resisted appeals for UN humanitarian teams to be allowed to stay on in Krajina.

The average age of Serbs in the Krajina region is thought to be 70.

"They are too weak to be moved," Gunness said.

Other aid groups have done little in the region and the Croatian authorities have abandoned their responsibilities for Serbs, Gunness said.

He added that UN civilian observers had witnessed regular harassment of Croatian Serbs, including looting and intimidation by men in Croatian army uniform.

The United Nations reported widescale human rights abuses in the Krajina in the weeks following August and they were still continuing, Gunness said.

One woman was beaten to death in a village in the Krajina region and the body of a man killed a month ago was dumped in front of his house in another village, Gunness said. "These are chilling vignettes," he added.

Tudjman's Office on Talks With Bildt

LD2811172995 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Now a statement from the office of the President of Republic:

Today, in the Presidential Palace the President of Republic received Carl Bildt, cochairman of the conference on the former Yugoslavia. He was accompanied by ambassadors Louis Shell and Michael Steiner [not further identified] and Enrice Mora, representative of Spain as presiding country of the EU. Bildt told the president of the republic about the steps he was taking in the framework of preparations for the implementation of the Basic Agreement on east Slavonia, Baranja, and west Srijem and the Dayton peace agreement. Bildt stressed the importance of implementing as soon as possible the basic agreement as the UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation] mandate expired on 30 November. The president of the republic reiterated that the Republic of Croatia finds it unacceptable to have any kind of extended UNCRO mandate as well as any delay in the implementation of the basic agreement.

In this context President Tudjman suggested once again something that should be the quickest, most effective, and financially most beneficial solution, namely the UN Security Council should pass a resolution whereby it authorizes the Russian and Belgian battalions, which are currently being deployed in these areas, to implement the agreement in the transitional period until new international forces are deployed.

In this context the president stressed that the commanders of these battalions had already accepted in principle such a solution. In the course of the meeting they also talked about the implementation of the Dayton peace agreement and the preparations for the forthcoming peace conference in Paris. A shared belief was also expressed that every effort should be invested with the aim of materializing as soon as possible the Croat-Bosnian federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In this context the president of the republic stressed the important role of a joint council for cooperation between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina which will be ceremonially founded during the peace conference in Paris. Its first session will be held in Sarajevo.

Apart from the president of the republic, the talks were also attended by Ivo Sanader, head of the president's office, Zeljko Matic, adviser to the president for foreign policy, and Vesna Skare-Ozbolt, deputy head of the president's office, says the statement from the president's office.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Commentary Views Peace as 'Big Business Deal'

AU2811211595 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Nov 95 p 4

[Commentary by Danko Plevnik: "He Who Causes War Makes Peace"]

[FBIS Translated Text] He who causes war makes peace. This theory finds its confirmation in Bosnia as well, where it is possible to discuss the exogenous and endogenous causes of the war. The exogenous cause of the war is certainly America's and NATO's penetration of the Balkans, by which the void during the Cold War has been filled, since the former Yugoslavia was non-aligned—which is to say, it was not part of either bloc. The endogenous causes lie in the desire to divide Bosnia. However, it would be inaccurate to look at the division as a dichotomy—that is, a sole concern of Tudjman and Milosevic, but rather as a trichotomy, which is to say, as Izetbegovic's desire as well. All of them agreed that Bosnia should be divided. The discord sprang from their incapacity to find a way to divide Bosnia that would be acceptable to all of them, because Izetbegovic wanted to finally accomplish a place in Bosnia-Herzegovina where the Bosniak nation would be absolutely sovereign for good. Therefore, the initial constituent character of all three peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina has ended up as a partially constituent character, so the peoples of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be constituent only in their own territories. UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Force] Bosnia of a double key solution is surrendering to the MTI (Milosevic-Tudjman-Izetbegovic) solution of three keys.

Symbolism of Prevlaka

Without war, one would not have been able to devise a theory of division— that is, losses of certain territories in which each of the Bosnian peoples were in the majority until the war. The war is an alibi for compromises because the pre-war peace did not require any doctrine of justification of the existing maps, while the post-war peace makes such formulas of geographic justification inevitably causal. President Tudjman is more than explicit in that, claiming that peace could not have been accomplished without war—that is, military successes of Croatia in Croatia and in Bosnia-Herzegovina, by which the strategic balance has been changed in the former Yugoslavia, According to Tudjman, these things have secured Croatian strategic interests in the region.

Is the Croatian strategic interest Serbia's penetration across the Drina and the international recognition of its capturing of half of Bosnia? The uprooting of the Bosnian Croats, and not only those from Bosnian Posavina [Sava River basin], strategically means nothing to Croats, because they believed in the strategy of their own people occupying their own territory, so that the strategic uprooting of Serbs in Dalmatia, Lika, Kordun and Banovina is no compensation for that. The Herzegovina Croats have remained deeply rooted there but also discredited as dividers of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Is not Prevlaka strategically more important than the hinterland of Dubrovnik in which the Croatian Army is stationed? Dubrovnik was shelled during the elections, despite the presence of the Croatian Army there, while Prevlaka is a means of controlling the war future of Montenegro, Yugoslavia, and Russia. Prevlaka is a symbolic proof to whom Boka Kotorska used to belong once historically and legally. Why now draw a border of the Bosnian Serbs between Croatia and Boka Kotorska if Bosnia is supposed to remain unified? Particularly after so many disputes over Neum, which in the past had been assigned to Turkey, so that Turkey, rather than Dubrovnik, had bordered upon Venice, which had made Dubrovnik an enclave.

All that is supposedly high, extremely high politics and irreversible geo-politics. Which apparently cannot be otherwise. But if you look at the geo-politics of Clinton's closely, you can quite clearly discern that in it, there is no exact determination, but there is chiefly the spirit of commercialism, a business-orientated geo-politics in which, just like in any other sort of business, one makes the best profit if one sells other people's goods—that is, other people's territory, national identity, or future. That trade is not pursued in the category of self-declared goods, so that Clinton is not talking about a West European, an Islamic, or a Byzantine president, but he refers to them all as the Balkan presidents. Rightfully condemning their inclination to highlighting their own ethnicity at the expense of somebody else's, Clinton is not doing that through a multiethnic discourse but by glorifying the national: "We have to be leaders to peace. That is our responsibility as Americans."

Traders in War

And where does the difference lie when, for instance, Tudjman says that he is for peace because it is our responsibility as Croats, or when Izetbegovic endeavors to assume responsibility for peace as a good Bosniak? It is interesting that multicultural principles are better sold as merchandise meant for foreign markets. The negotiations in Dayton are not only a big business deal in Bosnia-Herzegovina but also in Europe. Thus, the division of Bosnia is called peace since it has to be packaged to suit the customer. The U.S. President is quite explicit in that regard as well: "The accomplishment of peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina will help the construction of a

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

peaceful, undivided Europe. United Europe will be the best partner of the United States in security and trade."

Trade is the axiom of U.S. security—in all fields, and so it is in politics. Consequently, peace is also a commodity sold and purchased by someone. How it is possible to build an undivided Europe by dividing Bosnia can obviously be clear only to wholesale traders who are not interested in the limits of emotion or territories of some pygmy states. This may require a proven cynical remark that there is absolutely no ideal and just peace. After all, to Bosnia any peace that terminates bloodshed is good, while to the United States, good is any peace that prevents the war from spreading.

Clinton is praising pax Americana, thus: "Peace would also prevent the spreading of that war." Some people may think that the cause of the war was the fear of it spreading rather than a surgical division of Bosnia. Spreading of war—in which direction? Well, that is determined by the United States, not the Balkan presidents!

If the United States had wanted the war to spread to Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], it certainly would not have brought its troops there, nor would it have admitted Macedonia to Partnership for Peace. Thereby, at the same time, it has isolated and separated the Macedonian Albanians from the Kosovo Albanians. The entire division of Bosnia has at the same time been a smokescreen for the Kosovo Albanians, because the United States, by accepting Milosevic's hand washing by making concessions in Bosnia-Herzegovina, is sealing the fate of Kosovo. Milosevic would probably have never entered the war had he not had the United States' tacit guarantee that Kosovo is beyond any doubt Serbia's affair. Which is to say, the spreading of war is nothing but a big trading lie and deceitful bartering pursued by traders in war, because the war could not have possibly spread further than Bosnia-Herzegovina, which has become a training ground for geostrategic weighing and armed competition between Europe and the great powers. Milosevic has cooperated excellently ever since the beginning, and anyone familiar with irrationalities of politics has never doubted that the United States would not reject him—ever.

Of course, Tudjman understood this as well, and he was not as naive as to bang his head against the wall. This is why in Croatia the public conscience was guided so as to prevent the creation of war heroes, and to make the normalization of relations with Serbia quicker than it would ever have been possible if the war had evolved in more normal conditions. Tudjman therefore has problems just like Clinton, who is also trying to accelerate as much as possible the adoption of the peace settlement. Nicholas Burns, spokesman of the State Department, stated recently that Tudjman had given his personal guarantees to the United States that he would not renew war in eastern Slavonia. Of course, it would have been much more trustworthy if the Assembly had been able to make any such historic decision, but in that case the glory for achievements would have to be shared as well. Then is it accidental that the Assembly got dissolved precisely in those fateful moments for Croatia?

The U.S. Congress and the Senate have not been dissolved, and they are making all possible efforts to prevent the biggest crisis in modern times to become settled so as to benefit Clinton in the upcoming elections. Thus, Congress has passed a bill preventing that Clinton takes all the credit for the Dayton treaty, and in such a way that it would be able to prevent the deployment of U.S. troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina even if the Congress were to approve not only the deployment, but also the means to finance it. So long as Clinton opposed sending U.S. troops to Bosnia-Herzegovina, Congress supported it, because in that case, it is the Republicans who would have taken the credit. It is supply and demand rather than morality and justice that dominate political trade.

Commentary Sees Bosniaks as Losers From Dayton

AU2911093395 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Nov 95 p 7

[Commentary by Mario Galic: "Dayton: Seeds of New War!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Dayton agreement has been signed after some 20 days of intense negotiations. Now accounts are being worked out and everybody is trying to calculate how much he got and how much he lost. As matters stand now, Croatia has made the largest gain.

When estimating such gains and losses, one has to take into account the situation four years ago, at the beginning of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, not the one of six months ago or less. If one evaluates the Dayton agreement in this way, then the biggest losers are those who themselves started the war— the Serbs. Why? Because they, in the beginning, had an immeasurable superiority in arms, particularly in artillery, armor, and air power. In view of this, the Serbs should have taken, if not the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina, then at least two thirds of it. After four years of war, they have ended up with less than 50 percent, and of dubious quality at that. Of all that they are being given, only Bosanska Posavina and the part of the Drina River basin where the hydroelectric power stations are situated have any particular value. Everything else is without any significant value so this parastate creation cannot

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

survive on its own. In fact, the burden of keeping "the Serb Republic" alive will fall onto Serbia's back and Serbia will not get equivalent value in return.

The Bosniaks, who expected from the very beginning the establishment of a unitary Bosnian state in which they, as the majority nation, would gradually take over all the authority, are also major losers. Not having built up enough strength in the past three years to create a strong military force with which to parry the military strength of the Serbs and the Croats, the Bosniaks have achieved the least from the negotiations. True, the solution on the constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be enough to satisfy them entirely, but who can guarantee that this constitution will ever be implemented? On the more essential matter, the distribution of territories, the Bosniaks cannot be satisfied. They have obtained a corridor to Gorazde and an integral Sarajevo, but Bosnia-Herzegovina has been formally divided, at this moment, into two separate parts. Thus, if not for ever, then at least for a long time, the establishment of one authority over the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina has been postponed. Moreover, the Bosniaks do not have authority over the whole Federation because more than half its territory is under the control of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council]. They can only hope that the Republicans in the U.S. Senate and Congress will succeed in preventing the deployment of U.S. troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina, so that the Dayton agreement fails through no fault of theirs. They can also hope that Clinton will not win the presidential elections a year from now, which would enable new political, as well as military, assistance to come from the United States. If all this fails, they can only hope that in the next five or more years they will succeed in organizing and equipping an army such as to be able to defeat the Bosnian Serbs on its own and thus provide a better negotiating position with the Croats regarding the redistribution of territories (access to the Adriatic).

Tourism Is Safe

Croatia, on the other hand, has more than it could ever have dreamt of only a year ago! Not only has the problem of "Krajina" been solved in a very short period, but Croatian forces have reached Jajce and Drvar. Thus, the very sensitive Dalmatian area, particularly regarding tourism, has been protected by a special buffer zone, at least from the Serb threat. Thus, today the Croatian authorities control 95.5 percent of state territory and have a very strong influence on more than 20 percent of the territory of the neighboring country.

True, Bosanska Posavina has been lost, but no one has everything that he wanted. From the military standpoint, it is far more acceptable to have a long border with the Serbs along the Sava River than in the Dalmatian hinterland. Why? Because tourism is the vital economic activity from which Croatia intends to live well. And tourism cannot exist where security is threatened. Besides, the coastal area is very important for Croatia for traffic reasons, too (roads and railroads connect the Adriatic ports with inland areas), and the Serbs can no longer threaten that area under current circumstances. The Serbs can still threaten Slavonia, which is as important for Croatia; however, agriculture will go on regardless of Serb terrorist artillery attacks or air raids. The factories will also operate. Besides, the Serbs are aware that the Croatian Army will respond to such attacks adequately by attacking similar targets. And there are more than enough such targets in areas occupied by the Bosnian Serbs. For example, let us mention only the factories in Banja Luka, the airport in the vicinity of that town, or the most fragile part of the corridor.

The Dayton peace accord will, assisted by large NATO forces, create completely new relations within Bosnia-Herzegovina itself. That is an inevitable process, because interests change in line with the situation on the battlefields, but not in politics. Once peace consolidates itself entirely, the interests that have hitherto been obscured by the necessity of a military victory over the enemy will start to emerge. Strong pressure from the world powers will persuade the nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina to start engaging in other forms of activity to achieve new, or old but hidden, interests.

Votes in the Assembly

This means concretely that it is possible to imagine a situation in the future Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly in which the Serbs and the Croats vote together against a Bosniak proposal, of course, provided that the Assembly will ever start functioning. This will happen every time the Bosniak side tries to push through a law to strengthen the influence of the central authority or to reduce the authorities of local administrations. The desire of the Bosniak political leadership to try to carry out such an "integration" of authority and its gradual centralization within the Federation within a year could be fatal for peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, because such aspirations could result in the renewal of the Croat-Muslim conflict. Then, that would be the definite end of Bosnia-Herzegovina as one whole country.

In any case, however it may be, one can already establish that with the Dayton agreement the Croats have achieved the most (although they have lost Bosanska Posavina), the Serbs have achieved hardly enough to be able to claim that they have not lost the war, while the Bosniaks have achieved only the principles of a

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

constitution that offers them hope that their Bosnia-Herzegovina might in the distant future nevertheless be a whole state dominated by them. However, precisely in the fact of Bosniak dissatisfaction lie the new seeds of a future war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which will break out again the moment the Bosniaks feel strong enough to alter the Dayton agreement to their needs by force of arms. The example of the five Arab-Israeli wars in just 34 years shows how fruitful such seeds can be.

Tudjman Receives Iranian Foreign Minister

LD2911124595 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 29 Nov 95

[Report by Andjelko Perincic]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At about 1200 today, Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, received Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati who is visiting Croatia en route to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Following the meeting the Iranian foreign minister said:

[Begin Velayati recording in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] I have just been received by his excellency President Tudjman. We talked not only about our future cooperation, and not only between Croatia and Iran, but also about continuing our successful bilateral cooperation over the past three years, including Bosnia-Herzegovina's present participation, particularly now when the genocide in the area has come to en end. Apart from this, I conveyed the Iranian president's message to His Excellency Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia. [end recording]

Velayati met reporters in the company of his host, Mate Granic, who added:

[Begin Granic recording] I would only like to say that President Tudjman expressed particular satisfaction with the support of the Republic of Iran for the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and particularly for the trilateral projects involving Iran, the Republic of Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina in the restoration of the federation. [end recording] [passage omitted]

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Prime Minister Views Reforms, Gligorov Attack

AU2911122495 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 25 Nov 95 pp 2-3

[Interview with Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski, by Erol Rizaov on 22 November; place not given: "We Will Fulfill the Norms for Macedonia To Become a Member of the European Union"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Rizaov] We are living in a period in which events are happening with a frenetic speed. Big and important changes for which decades are needed in a normal evolution process are happening daily. You as prime minister seem to be absent from these events. Your presence is not sufficiently noticed. You rarely come out in public with your own assessments, explanations, your visions and intentions. Is it your personal wish not to be too much exposed in public, is it your style of work, or is it something else?

[Crvenkovski] At the outset I would like to point out that I fully agree when you say that in a relatively short period of time a lot of historically important events happened to us. Thirty days after the normalization of relations with the Republic of Greece and the establishment of full diplomatic relations with the United States we became a full member of the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe], of the Council of Europe, of the "Partnership for Peace" program, and we are just about to negotiate on establishing relations with the European Union.

Nevertheless, I would also like to stress that nothing has happened by chance. On the contrary, these events have been in preparation for a long period, since the beginning, that is since a few years ago when they were designated as goals of the complete and publicly promoted political platform, up to the moment of their accomplishment, that is our access to these international organizations.

Of course, the formal act of access is not a goal in itself and this is not the end but the beginning of a process.

[Rizaov] Do you mean that the membership in itself does not necessarily have to be important, if we do not have profit?

[Crvenkovski] Yes. We do not need just a formal membership in these organizations, but we need to evaluate our own interests through these organizations. This means that we have serious intentions and that we want to participate actively in the European integration processes and to incorporate the European norms and standards in all the segments of life over the long term. We want the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] to become a part of the European Union. Normally, a lot of time and effort is needed. However, a period of 10 years may be a long period in the life of a person, but it is just a flash in the history of a nation. Actually, the recent successes that we have achieved seemed to be very distant three to four years ago, but as we can see, they are a reality now.

As far as the question about my presence in the public is concerned, I will be very frank here. All these processes require a complex approach in which, if not all, then at least the largest part of the ministries in the Government of the Republic of Macedonia participate. So, as prime minister and coordinator of the various departments, I cannot remain outside; on the contrary, I am at the focus of events.

It is a completely different matter when we speak of presence in the public, which makes sense only if there are contents, otherwise it is nothing but a naked political promotion.

I always say that it is more important to accomplish something before you publicly communicate it.

Anyway, I appreciate your criticism, at least that is how I understand it, when you say that I should be more present in the mass media, and ultimately this is the commitment of every politician in democratic societies. I hope to improve this in the future.

Maturation Test

[Rizaov] The last big event, perhaps the biggest one in recent Macedonian history, is the criminal act—the assassination attempt—against Kiro Gligorov, the president of the Republic of Macedonia. Aside from a short statement and a government report in which it was said that the institutions of the system are functioning normally after the assassination attempt, you as prime minister did not appear in public to give an expanded review of the situation in the state after the assassination attempt. Why did you not react to meet the expectations of the largest part of the people?

[Crvenkovski] The normal and even more engaged functioning of the institutions for which the government is responsible was really the most important for me at that moment, considering that it was an event which could cause unspeakable consequences. I was really very satisfied to see that the state and the state institutions passed another difficult maturation test in this period. It is the general assessment of the whole international community that it is an organized structure and a functioning system, I dare say even better than in other states that are facing the same or similar situations. Normally, the people deserve the most congratulations, because they once again demonstrated self-confidence

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

and enough energy to surmount such temptations with the highest dignity.

Let us go back to the question. Only five days after the assassination attempt, on 8 October, the Government of the Republic of Macedonia held a session on the ratification of the Accord with the Republic of Greece, and then I spoke about the assassination attempt and about the necessary activities. I thought that it was sufficient and that anything more than that would be imposing judgments on the public opinion instead of dedicating all of our energy to our duties.

[Rizaov] At the beginning there were many speculations in our country and in the neighboring countries concerning the health of the president. What is the health of the president now and do you personally communicate with him?

[Crvenkovski] President Gligorov is in excellent health and his recovery is even better than the medical expectations. I have regular communication with him and we have already had a number of working meetings. I had such a meeting with him today and I informed him about part of the foreign and internal political activities (the interview was given on 22 November). President Gligorov is to meet U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry tomorrow. So, to conclude that the president will soon go back to his presidential duties is not true because he is already accomplishing some of his obligations, which confirms that even in the future he will be heading the Republic of Macedonia on the course that has already been largely verified.

Plot Against the State

[Rizaov] The assassination attempt against President Kiro Gligorov, according to all known facts, indications, and analyses in this country and abroad, as well as according to all relevant assessments, is a criminal and terrorist act in Macedonia's recent history. If we agree with the assessments that the assassination attempt was an attack on the political stabilization of Macedonia and of the Balkans at large, and if such a criminal act was aimed at causing long-range historic consequences, the general belief is that the investigation was not done properly and that it was more of a routine police work. The investigation to date has not yielded any results, or at least the public has not been informed.

[Crvenkovski] First, the assassination attempt against the president of the state is definitely a plot against the state. It cannot be anything else. The institution of the state president is the biggest synonym for the sovereignty and integrity of a state. So, there are no dilemmas about the intentions of the assassination attempt and about the desired consequences. It is clear that the intention was to eliminate the president of the state physically, to cause political destabilization, and consequently to deviate from a planned course. There is no logic if such an operation is done believing that the state will remain on the same course. From this aspect the assassination attempt is something that will remain, not only as an historic memory, but it will enter and remain in the collective memory of the people, in the mental code of the people, for generations, and there have been such moments in our long history. I absolutely agree that this is a colossal event of great significance.

Now we come to the question of whether the investigation was adequate to the event itself. Let me tell you frankly that I am not an expert in investigations of this type, and I do not believe that there is anybody in the state with such an experience. We may make comparisons with similar events in other states not as experts but as people who are politically thinking and on the basis of other people's experiences. Usually, investigations like this one are long-lasting, except in cases when assassins take the responsibility for the assassination attempt, or when such acts are committed by some fanatics or mentally unbalanced persons. In our case it was neither the one nor the other, but it had obviously been planned for a long time and professionally executed.

So, it was a well-planned, well-organized, and professionally executed operation, which has obviously made the whole investigation even more complex and difficult. All resources at our disposal have been put into the investigation throughout this period. Besides our own resources, teams from other states have also been engaged. It is hard to say when such an investigation should be completed so as to assess it as either successful or unsuccessful. We know that even in big states investigations of this type last for decades, while there are some that have not yet been resolved. And this is in powerful states with strong police and intelligence services.

I personally hope and wish the investigation to end successfully not only for the sake of punishing the perpetrators, but from the aspect of a state, it is important for us to discover the instigators and the organizers of this act in order to figure out the strategy in this relation. Second, since it is difficult to decide whether this is an act that will not be repeated or whether the instigators of the assassination attempt will try to reach the same goal in other times and with other means, it is important that we have a successful investigation.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Why I Did Not Accept Frckovski's Resignation

[Rizaov] Minister Frckovski offered his resignation motivated by personal and moral responsibility. After a long contemplation you did not accept it. You communicated your decision on the day you visited President Gligorov. Why did you not show understanding for the moral feelings of Minister Frckovski, a deep personal feeling that comes from his own character and which should be appreciated? Some analysts believe that if Frckovski's resignation had been accepted he would have practically been protected because this minister cannot be the same as the one before 3 October.

[Crvenkovski] I informed the mass media about my view on Frckovski's resignation before I visited President Gligorov. So, it was a pure coincidence.

As far as the second part of the question is concerned, I support the opinion of a part of the people, which was also supported by a number of you journalists—in cases like this, the political responsibility must be taken into account. However, as prime minister it is my duty to see things in a broader perspective and to evaluate the functioning of the institutions for protecting the state interests. Most frequently, the situations are not black and white. Usually, you cannot simply select the best option; all pros and cons must be weighed and then one must choose the one that is the least detrimental. I decided not to accept the offered resignation and to ask Mr. Frckovski to continue with the utmost responsibility in performing his duties.

[Rizaov] Really, what must happen in order to make the system of personal responsibility work and the indisputable act of resignation to follow? Is it necessary to have two air crashes to reshuffle a minister, two assassination attempts against the president of the state for the reshuffle of another minister?

[Crvenkovski] There are rules of the game. Under some circumstances my decision would have been different. I believe that there must be high norms of pragmatism in policy. There are no criteria that are once and for ever established. In less serious cases responsibility may be sometimes necessary under other circumstances.

[Rizaov] In the summer, the government announced the start of a strong battle against crime in all forms. At the same news conference at which you communicated this, you also revealed the government's decision on the reshuffle of some government bureaucrats. In your explanation you emphasized that the reason for this was their insufficient engagement, but since this was communicated at the same news conference, the public opinion was that these persons had been involved in criminal activities. Moreover, the reshuffles continued but there were no charges and people were not fired. All of them were mainly shifted to other duties, while some were even promoted. Did you not accuse innocent people?

[Crvenkovski] First, a few words about the action itself. At the time it was announced, it was noted that it would be carried out on three levels: the level of administration, the level of establishment or completion of institutions, and the level of personnel reexamination.

As far as the first level is concerned—the level of legal and other regulations—it had to do with the adoption of new and reexamination of the old legal solutions, starting from the principle that incriminating acts (for instance, violating the administration's right to discretion) should be eliminated or minimized.

Some big steps have already been taken on this plan. For instance, the Law on Trade was adopted, which caused strong tensions because it regulates relations on the green market. New solutions were also adopted concerning the taxation system, which also stirred the public opinion, while its essence is that taxes must be paid at the state's entry or factory's exit. We believe that, with the changes in the Law on Enterprises, which says that in every registered company the competent person must be regularly employed, a great number of fictitious companies will be erased from the register books.

As far as the second level is concerned, we tried to reinforce the power and competencies of the controlling institutions and inspections, to elevate the punishments and improve efficiency with technical equipment.

The third level, which is related to personnel questions, aroused the greatest interest among the people. I think that an absolutely wrong approach is overemphasized—that if a high-ranking official is relieved of his duties it is a confirmation of his involvement in criminal activities.

We relieved a number of high-ranking persons from various sectors and institutions because with their inefficiency they created possibilities for others to be engaged in activities that are outside or contrary to the law. If you look at the sectors and institutions in which there were reshuffles, you will see that these people worked in bodies and institutions that were most frequently accused of inefficiency.

Struggle Against Crime Continues

[Rizaov] How many persons have been reshuffled in the government's administration?

[Crvenkovski] I do not know the precise number. If we stick to the appointed and elected ones, that is to

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

say, deputy secretaries, ministers, republican inspectors, managers of public services, and managers of directorates and agencies, the number is over 30. As for the regional ministries, the number is far greater.

[Rizaov] The government has also taken a firm stance in its struggle against gray economy, but even here the results are below the expectations. According to some indications, in the coming years we are going to have a stronger penetration as a result of the more tolerant relationship toward various forms of gray economy.

[Crvenkovski] According to some figures, in the last few months there has been an improvement in this sphere, but the percentage of extralegal trading and financial transactions is still very high.

In order to have a real picture of the Republic of Macedonia on this plan, we must decide about the measurement to be taken, that is, who are we going to compare ourselves with. If we compare the situation in Macedonia a few years ago with the present situation, we can see that the gray economy is rising, as well as crime in general. If we compare ourselves with the countries that are going through the same processes as we are, then we can conclude that the situation in the Republic of Macedonia is far better than in the greater number of these states.

In the meantime, even the currency reserves, which were about $40 million three years ago, now are $260 million, and this state capital was acquired under difficult conditions.

Moreover, in the meantime we have also decreased the debt to bank customers by 409 million German marks, and at the end of October we started paying back the old foreign debts.

I am telling you this in order to recall the positive results of the economic policy we are pursuing, of which we can be proud.

The fall of industrial production is a question to which we will give top priority in the coming period. We must not use just short-term methods yielding short-term positive results and long-term negative consequences that will lead to more chaos and destabilization.

In the new situation, with the lifting of the Greek embargo and the sanctions in the north, and with the announced economic and financial support from abroad, I expect 1996 to be a turning point in the sphere of production and I think that this optimism is real.

What Does Alternative Mean

[Rizaov] The bad luck of big investments is that they always seem justified, and even indispensable. Macedonia is entering a new big wave of investments. A sum of over $1 billion is mentioned for investments in infrastructure over the next few years. It is right to warn about the danger of a socialist approach to investments, as it was in the period of the compatible economy when a great number of huge capacities were constructed. But even if all these investments are justified, can Macedonia afford to take credits for facilities that will not quickly return the money, and therefore the future generations will have to pay them back?

[Crvenkovski] There have been a few years when the state has not participated as an investor in economic facilities, in factories, in production plants, and so on. The state participates as an investor with financial means in the infrastructure, as you said, that is in capacities producing energy, in telecommunications, and so on. It is normal for the state to invest in these facilities. Some of these projects are important not only from the aspect of profitability. For instance, the railroad to Bulgaria—I think there has never been such a need for this railroad before in history. In the past few years we realized what it is to have an alternative. We are a landlocked state and therefore we need to have a well-developed traffic infrastructure in every way. We need at least two exits to the ports of our neighbors. It would be good if we had that with all the neighbors. The simple reason is that, in such a way, not only do we have an alternative in situations like embargoes, sanctions, and so on, but also as a prevention, because it is aimless to impose an embargo if we have another alternative—railroad or highway—to another port. This is of strategic importance for the state.

It is much easier for us to say—why burden the state with what will happen 20 or 30 years from now in refernce to energy, for instance.

I am frankly very pleased that we are thinking 10, 15, and 20 years in advance. This is the only way to progress and this is how organized states act.

As far as the traffic infrastructure is concerned, it is a generally known fact that we did not just accept, but we are pushing hard the East-West corridor in order to make it a priority in the international public and international financial institutions, because, in such a way, our geographic position will be evaluated in the best way. We are at the crossroads of important highway directions and corridors, but unfortunately, because of political reasons, this corridor was completely neglected in the last four to five decades. We are the ones who can make our geographic position most valuable, that is we must really become a crossroads on the corridor, in north-south direction and the east-west direction as

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

well. The linkage of the Adriatic with the Black Sea will go through Macedonia.

Resolute in Privatization

[Rizaov] One of the basic preconditions for a successful economy is privatization. One of the most important laws and determinations for the functioning of the new market system is the change of ownership. In Macedonia multiparty parliamentary democracy has functioned for five years, but the general impression is that privatization is moving slowly. What is the reason for this? In general, what is your opinion on the reforms that you announced in parliament and in the preelection campaign?

[Crvenkovski] Nobody had any illusions that the process of economic reforms, and, in this framework, the privatization, would be an easy and fast process. At the very onset we used to say that labor and time is needed. Normally, it is always a legitimate question to ask, if in these circumstances we could not have done it better and faster. Let us recall that for nearly a whole year we have been establishing the standby arrangement with the International Monetary Fund and a joint program for economic reforms and restructure with the World Bank for Reconstruction and Development. It is a fact that now both processes have been successfuly accomplished. The assessment of these two institutions is that Macedonia is not only successfully implementing the program, but in some segments it can also serve as an example to other countries in transition. You have probably heard of formal and informal lists of countries that have reached the farthest point in economic reforms. We are on the upper place of these tables. This is something that must give us courage and prove to us that we must be more optimistic.

Privatization is the fundamental segment of economic reforms. We have devised an ambitious goal that by spring 1996 over 800 enterprises will be transformed. The timing up to now gives real hopes that this goal will be accomplished. There was a period in which it seemed that there was a slowdown in the process as a result of the deadlines that were incorporated into the law itself, which allowed two years for the big and one year for the small enterprises to prepare independent programs for privatization.

Now we are in the phase of solving the problem of privatization with the segments that were excluded from the process with Article 3 of the existing law. The government came out with its draft law on privatization in the sphere of agriculture, and with changes in the law on editorial activities we enabled privatization of editorial houses, and so on.

[Rizaov] Speaking about privatization, there is always the question of denationalization. A particular atmosphere has been created in Macedonia. The people go to archives and look for documents about their confiscated properties. How is this process going to be carried out? Will it be carried out simultaneously or at a slower pace? Some have announced that Macedonia will be transformed into a big courtroom, others say that without denationalization there cannot be a real privatization.

[Crvenkovski] The process of denationalization is important from a number of aspects. One is the political aspect. It is to correct a wrongdoing in the past, but also to establish a future attitude. There has to be confirmation that private property is untouchable from now on. The second aspect is the economic and the financial aspect. It is totally clear that the process of denationalization has its price. Some of the limiting factors that must not be neglected are the material and financial possibilities of the state.

The Law on Denationalization has passed the first phase in the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia. There were many discussions, ideas.... I expect some alternatives to be soon resolved and the bill to be passed in the Assembly. By doing this, and with the total process of privatization, the attitude toward property in the Republic of Macedonia will be completed.

Never Enough of Democracy

[Rizaov] There are some opinions that there is a slowdown in the process of democratization in Macedonia in the sense that democracy is limited. All mechanisms of a democratic system are not working yet. We are still in a period of democracy in name only.

[Crvenkovski] It is absurd to claim that we have a slowdown in democracy just at the time when events that confirm the democratic process are happening to us. We are becoming a member of the Council of Europe, where Macedonia has been accepted as a state in which democratic processes are developing. We are becoming a member of the OSCE, as a confirmation of the democratic processes, and among others we are fulfilling the conditions for accession to the "Partnership for Peace" program. Just at the time when we are receiving the best verifications of the development of democratic processes in the Republic of Macedonia there comes the question about a slowdown in the democratic processes. It seems a little absurd, and I have the feeling that this is a thesis that has been imposed and even invented, and it is logical as long as it has a political platform. If somebody is trying to promote himself politically at the expense of what the current government is doing now, one of the arguments must be that there is allegedly no

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

democracy in Macedonia or that there is a slowdown in democracy. However, the weak card of this thesis is that we can always give our assessments in this or that way, but the international criteria, norms, and standards are more objective. So I say the weakness of this thesis lies in the fact that it has been put forward just at the time of the mentioned events. This is one thing.

The second thing is—and I have repeated this for I do not know how many times—to make a comparative evaluation. We have to compare ourselves with others in order to see how advanced or backward we are. Comparing with the states that are in transition, I think that we are on the top, even much higher when grading on the question of political reforms of democratization over economic. I agree that an important segment which represents a degree of democracy and democratization is the constitution of the third authority, that is the judiciary system. I can only assume that, even when this job is completed, there will appear another thesis in the framework of a broader or a narrow political platform, and they will say: Now that the courts have started to function is another evidence for slowdown in democracy because they have started to function according to the law that you have adopted, the choice that you have made, and so on. I absolutely disagree with the thesis that there is a slowdown in the democratic processes or that these processes were moving faster in the previous period than now. It will probably suit some because the previous time will be identified with the people from the previous time. What can we do, there are international standards and norms that clearly locate who is to be where in these processes and this is the best assessment that from the aspect of democratization we are on the right road and that there is a lot to do in this sphere. We will never say that there is enough democracy. It will be an eternal process of greater liberties, more rights, individual as well as collective, and so on.

[Rizaov] There are some criticisms that the government you are heading has not been composed of the most competent ministers, but that it has been mostly composed of party activists who are there to feed their party appetites, as well as their personnel and existential needs. So far you have not made any reconstructions or changes, so does this mean that you are completely satisfied with the work of all the ministers or, even if you are not, there is no need for personnel reshuffles in the government?

[Crvenkovski] As far as the first part of your question is concerned, I would like to point out that this is a political and not an expert government. Its legitimacy comes from the parliamentary majority and the elections, and not from the professional norms and criteria. It is a usual practice in parliamentary democracies. They have politicians who have headed various ministries and it is accepted.

I have the feeling that to insist on the criteria of professional competence at the expense of political legitimacy is something contrary to the principles of parliamentary democracy.

As far as the second part of the question is concerned, I can repeat a view that I presented a long time ago: In a period like this we are all in conditions of permanent reelections. This means that the question of reconstruction of the government is always open, as well as the question of confidence in the whole government.

[Box, p 2]

There Are No Negotiations on the Name

[Rizaov] Immediately after the signing of the Accord with Greece, more speculation about negotiations on the name appeared. There are no such commitments or clauses in the Accord except that we can discuss the differences concerning the name. Is anything happening on this plan, will there be any negotiations, are we going to discuss about the differences?

[Crvenkovski] Let me avail myself of this opportunity, particularly because I often hear that a decisive view is needed. On this occasion I would like to stress a view, which is that we are not having any negotiations on changing our constitutional name. We accept that Greece has a different view in relation to this question. We can discuss that this different view does not obstruct our multilateral or bilateral relations, and so on. However, we will never accept negotiations on changing the name or initiatives for different names, and so on.

[Box, p 3]

The Course of the Denar, Production

[Rizaov] A number of economists and businessmen often ask how it is possible to have a fall in production while the denar is stable. Does it have to do with unregistered incomes?

[Crvenkovski] Partly, yes. It has to do with currency inflow that is not a result of our productive activities, but also with the assistance that is, in the meantime, arriving from the PHARE [Economic and Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program or other financial institutions. Even if this is true, the inflow that we have at this moment is far from adequate to the losses that we had due to the sanctions, embargoes, and so on. Of course, these losses have been located in other places. Some suffer damages, others profit. With a full normalization we expect to obtain a real picture about the situation in our economy.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Government Suspends Sanctions Against Yugoslavia

LD2911161795 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1550 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 29 Nov—Conditions have been created for extensive development of cooperation between Poland and the new Yugoslavia, Stanislaw Jaxa-Malachowski, from the Board of the Polish-Balkan Chamber of Trade, told a PAP journalist today, commenting on the government's decision yesterday to indefinitely suspend economic sanctions against the new Yugoslavia in accordance with a UN resolution.

To reach full development of Polish-Yugoslav economic cooperation, it is necessary to resume rail and air links and to conclude new economic agreements, Jaxa-Malachowski said.

In his opinion, economic partners from the new Yugoslavia are going to suggest barter in bilateral settlements. "As far as export is concerned, they will need everything—in particular, raw materials and components for chemical, electronic, and metallurgical production. We can import copper and farming products, including wheat and maize," he said.

The agreements with former Yugoslavia ceased to exist a long time ago because no state emerging after the breakup of the Federation had taken over its international obligations.

Testing Ground To Be Let to British Troops

WS2811145895 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28 Nov 95 p 3

[Article by "LUZ": "The First Testing Ground To Be Let to the British"]

[FBIS Translated Text] We shall let a testing ground to foreign troops for the first time next year. British subunits from a division stationed in Germany will exercise in Drawsko Pomorskie for four days in September.

Before that happens, however, the government and parliament should sign a relevant agreement, and nothing seems to be standing in the way. Renting the testing ground will allow our Armed Forces to earn a lot of money. We would like to receive about $100 for accommodating and feeding each British soldier.

The British prefer our testing grounds to the German ones because they are far cheaper and much bigger. Moreover, in Germany the hours during which troops can exercise using firearms are strictly limited, and high fines for polluting the natural environment are imposed.

The Polish Ministry of National Defense gives assurance that, during the exercises held by the British troops, "special measures will be taken to minimize the risk of environmental pollution and the losses and damages that may ensue."

Polish-Ukrainian Peace Battalion To Be Formed

WS2911081095 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26 Nov 95 p 4

[Report by Jacek Dudzic in Lublin: "Polish-Ukrainian Peace Battalion To Be Formed in One Year"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A Polish-Ukrainian peace battalion is to be formed at the latest by November of next year, with the chief purpose of participating in UN peacekeeping missions. An agreement was signed in Lublin between the Krakow Military District and the Carpathian Military District, with headquarters in Lvov.

Detailed negotiations on the agreement lasted two days. The document was signed by General Bryk from Krakow and General Shulyak from Lvov. "We decided to establish a working team that would be responsible for forming the battalion. It has been agreed that it will be formed sometime next year," ZYCIE WARSZAWY learned at the staff of the Third Mechanized Brigade in Lublin.

The heads of the military districts have also signed an agreement on close cooperation between the 3d Mechanized Brigade in Lublin and the 51st Volodymyr-Volynskyy Mechanized Division. [passage omitted]

'Confidential Analysis' on Postcommunists in Power

WS2811145695 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 28 Nov 95 p 7

[Article by Malgorzata Alterman in Brussels: "EU Experts on Poland; Kwasniewski, the FU, NATO"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Now that the "former communist" has won the presidential elections, the EU's attitude toward Poland should not change, provided the reforms continue. NATO membership, however, will most probably be postponed.*

"Aleksander Kwasniewski's victory in the presidential elections only confirms the current trends in the Central and East European states affiliated with the EU where former communists have returned to power," we read in a confidential analysis developed by the European Commission, which GAZETA WYBORCZA accessed. The authors add that it does not seem probable that Stalinist policies might be restored.

Former communists are using the support of organizational structures of old, but younger leaders with more polish, like Kwasniewski, have come to the fore.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Kwasniewski is supported by Western diplomats. The document remarks: "An informal poll carried out among Western ambassadors posted in Warsaw revealed that they preferred him to Walesa."

The reasons that former communists have returned to power, reasons listed by the authors of the report, include:

—The very high costs of reform.

—The lack of experience of the post-Solidarity elites, which failed to create powerful political parties after having taken power and to carry out important reforms (for instance, of the pension and social security systems) out of fear of social dissatisfaction.

—Personal ambitions and a lack of tactical skills on the part of the Solidarity leaders and Lech Walesa.

The authors of the report claim that Walesa made two fundamental mistakes. "He insisted on running in the 1990 elections despite protests from Solidarity and Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and he called for parliamentary elections in 1993," claims the document, stressing that the lack of unity on the right helped the disciplined postcommunists regain power.

This will not have any significant impact on internal policies: "The majority of former communists wielding power in the states of Central and East Europe are continuing the reforms launched by the center-right. In some cases, they have even managed to accelerate those reforms."

Also, "in the foreign policies of all of these states, the postcommunists keep up the pro-West trends." The analysts do warn, however, that their return to power may give more room for maneuver for Russia, which will find it easier to restore its influence in the intelligence community.

The EU experts claim that, together with the return of the former communists, the expansion of NATO to the east could be postponed. They suggest that the United States will be hesitant to accept into the alliance states governed by former communists.

Kwasniewski Aides Reportedly Trained in U.S.

WS2911112395 Warsaw GAZETA POLSKA in Polish 30 Nov 95 p 1

[Article by (raz): "Clinton Helped SLD Candidate"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Journalists of the "Catholic Radio Plus" in Gdansk have found out that Zbigniew Siemiatkowski of the Democratic Left Alliance, who later became the spokesman of Kwasniewski's campaign staff, and Ireneusz Skubis of the Polish Peasant Party took part in a special two-month training course in the United States, during which they were taught how to wage a presidential election campaign. The course was organized early this year by the Democratic administration and financed by the taxpayers' money; it was part of the governmental program of supporting democracy in post-communist countries.*

The specialists who taught the course, who were once involved in Bill Clinton's election campaign, shared with Deputy Siemiatkowski their experience in the art of presenting a candidate on television. The Americans advised him, among other things, that Kwasniewski be presented against a blue background and that he put on rejuvenating makeup applied on a dark base.

Siemiatkowski and Skubis received special invitations, which bore their names, directly from Nicholas Rey, U.S. ambassador in Warsaw. The organizers of the course did not plan to invite representatives of any other Polish parties to the course.

Ambassador Rey was unavailable to journalists until Friday. However, they managed to arouse the interest of Jessie Helms, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the U.S. Senate, in the case. In an interview with an American journalist of Polish origin, Helms gave assurances that the Republicans did not know anything about Siemiatkowski's training course. He also promised to take quick action to find out why U.S. taxpayers' money was used to help Polish postcommunists regain power.

Daily on Justice Minster's Involvement in Campaign

WS2911081195 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 25-26 Nov 95 p 4

[Commentary by Anna Marszalek: "Jaskiernia Draws Public Prosecutor's Office Into Politics"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The behavior of Justice Minister Jerzy Jaskiernia, the charges leveled at him, and the information din concerning this issue are detrimental to the prestige of the office of the highest public prosecutor in the state, as well as to all public prosecutors' offices.

Opposition deputies are accusing him of having engaged in the presidential campaign and having supported Aleksander Kwasniewski. They are saying that he held the office of prosecutor general up to ridicule and are demanding his recall. Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy is defending him. Public prosecutors are decrying the involvement of their offices in politics.

Even objective observers, however, cannot ignore the fact that Jaskiernia:

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

—Over the past two weeks called five news conferences. Four of them were held between the first and second rounds of the elections and were primarily about "Kwasniewski's affairs."

—Denied that the prosecutor's office had instituted legal proceedings against Kwasniewski, who said that he had a higher education. On the other hand, before making that denial, Jaskiernia informed the public that such proceedings had been instituted.

—Asked the National Education Ministry a question the answer to which can be found in the law on higher education.

—At Kwasniewski's request, asked the Constitutional Tribunal about its interpretation of Article 6 of the Anticorruption Law (even though he himself had no doubts about it because it was an obvious case).

—Decided to look into the issue of Lech Walesa's taxes, even though this was outside his powers. [passage omitted]

It is not the first time a person holding the office of prosecutor general has been accused of acting for political reasons. This is unavoidable in a situation when the prosecutor general is at the same time the justice minister, a member of the governing party, and a Sejm deputy. Preference of party interests was the most noticeable in Jan Piatkowski (Christian-National Union), and now it can be observed in the case of Jaskiernia. (Both of them, for example, appointed heads of public prosecutors' offices despite the negative opinions of public prosecutors' circles on the appointees.) The idea of separating the office of prosecutor general from the ministry is being rejected as an attempt to return to the Polish People's Republic. But perhaps it would be quite a good solution.

Situation of Coalition After Elections Viewed

WS2811151095 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Nov 95 p 5

[Article by Malgorzata Subotic: "The Coalition Scene After the Presidential Elections"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *"This certainly is of some significance to us because it is a qualitative change," according to the first reaction of Bogdan Pek, Polish Peasant Party [PSL] deputy (the enfant terrible of the peasants), to the presidential election result—that is, the victory of Aleksander Kwasniewski, leader of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]. He added that "this considerably increases the advantage of our coalition partner in the sense of wielding real power and giving the state's policy final shape." Other politicians of the coalition, including the peasants, were and still are far more moderate when making public statements; they tend to use the language of political diplomacy rather than great frankness and argue that the election of this or some other person to the office of the president has no significance for the stability of the SLD-PSL alliance.*

However, it is certain that after 19 November the coalition found itself in a new situation. The victory of Aleksander Kwasniewski in the second round of the presidential elections means that the SLD has not only the most numerous club in the parliament, but also its own prime minister and its president. This means that it has instruments with which to wield all state power. The only problem it may face when trying to take full advantage of these instruments is that it has to ensure social peace. This task is difficult in that the candidate who lost in the elections is Lech Walesa, who was backed by nearly as many voters as the SLD leader.

PSL: Reluctant To Take Risks

Fairly important to relations within the coalition is the fact that, in the second round, the PSL did not endorse the SLD candidate. It did not endorse either candidate. Why? The simplest answer is that this was because the peasants do not like taking risks. "Before the presidential elections, the PSL had to act as it actually acted." This is yet another quotation of a statement made spontaneously by Deputy Pek. Of course, some PSL politicians did want Kwasniewski to win the elections, but, as it seems, they were far less numerous; they were so happy to be in power that they simply did not accept any strategic arguments.

However, most PSL politicians—some less and others more secretly—backed Lech Walesa. This was because such a solution guaranteed a certain balance between the coalition partners. Now there is no such balance because "a third force" is missing from the configuration of power. The parliamentary opposition is unable to play this role. This is the fundamental problem the PSL is facing.

First Defensive Conclusions

The first conclusions from the new configuration that came into being after Aleksander Kwasniewski's victory have already been drawn. These conclusions were, let us say, defensive.

The president-elect ceased to be the chairman of the SLD and resigned his membership in the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic; he also announced that would not join the party again. However, does this mean that he ceased to be the leader of the SLD, the grouping he helped come to power and that then elevated him to power?

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Another "defensive" conclusion was the establishment of the commission dealing with threats to the coalition. This commission was set up very quickly—two days after the elections. It consists of three politicians from each party.

Meanwhile, right before the commission was set up, Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy announced to members of the coalition parties that "the election result was quite clear." A minute later, PSL politicians learned that the government was planning to replace three voivodes—in those voivodships where the victory of the SLD candidate was the biggest. The three voivodes, linked to the PSL, are to be replaced with persons appointed by the SLD. (It is worth recalling that, when Waldemar Pawlak was prime minister, the peasants took much more voivode posts than their coalition partner, and Marek Borowski, the new head of the Office of the Council of Ministers, has not done much so far to change this situation). "There will not be any protest, will there?" asked the prime minister, and it was a rhetorical question.

Showing the PSL Its Place

To PSL politicians the situation is now clear—their coalition partner is showing them their place. This place is a consequence of Kwasniewski's victory and of the fact that the peasants did not endorse his candidacy. "Your position would be entirely different if you had backed us, which we encouraged you to do," SLD leaders seem to be saying. It is difficult to polemize with this argument, all the more so because a definite majority of those who backed Chairman Pawlak in the first round decided to vote for Aleksander Kwasniewski in the second.

"This result confirms that the SLD-PSL cabinet should continue to work," SLD politicians say, and at heart they seem to be saying that PSL voters proved to be wiser than the party's activists. Is this really the case?

The PSL believed Walesa would win—it certainly wanted to believe in his victory. Although relations between Pawlak and Walesa were not always very good—there was a period of "love for the kid brother" followed by a time when Walesa sharply criticized Pawlak as prime minister—a president from outside of the PSL gave the peasants some room for playing a political game.

According to pessimists, now the PSL has its back to the wall. In addition, the two-year history of the coalition shows how the peasants' influence was decreasing, although things looked so promising to the PSL at the start. [passage omitted]

Consequences of the Peasants' Psychosis

"The practice acquired over decades in the previous system taught SLD politicians to gain and then maintain power; now that their man has won the elections, there is not even one obstacle that might stand in their way," say PSL representatives, frightened by their situation, and bring up the subject of the "red web that will soon envelop all of Poland." They add suspiciously that, "if they are talking about reconciliation, they are up to something."

As a result of this psychosis that can be observed in the PSL, Chairman Pawlak can, for the time being at least, keep his chair in the party. He can keep it even though his disastrous election result (less than 5 percent) is a perfect argument for his opponents, who cannot forgive him for his party dictatorship and for the mistakes he made when he was prime minister. [passage omitted]

Testing Various Options

In official statements, not only SLD but also PSL politicians give assurances about the stability of the coalition. However, the peasants are quick to note all manifestations of disrespect on the part of their coalition partner. They even pointed out that, before the debate on the budget, only Deputy Prime Minister Grzegorz Kolodko came to take part in the session of the PSL Club, whereas the prime minister failed to show up. However, the first test of the stability of the coalition after the elections will come with the appointments to the so-called presidential ministries—the ministerial posts were vacated by the ministers who were linked to Lech Walesa. The prime minister has already announced that "he does not predict lengthy negotiations." The peasants seem to believe this assurance. It is not very likely that they will receive any of these offices, especially the one they craved the most—the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

What will happen next, then? The PSL will try to adopt tactics based on the following principle: "the amount of power equal to the amount of responsibility." The less the power, the smaller the responsibility. The SLD successfully used these tactics when Pawlak was prime minister. The question is whether the PSL, which is not so good at cooperating with the media and which has less influence, will be able to pull it off. What the PSL might certainly take advantage of is a potential conflict between Oleksy and Kwasniewski. PSL politicians are enthusiastically talking about the first signs of such a conflict.

However, one thing is certain: The peasants do not want early parliamentary elections. As a result of opinion poll results and the commotion that can be observed

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

in all political groups, parliamentary elections, if held next spring, would only be advantageous to the SLD, which might take advantage of Kwasniewski's success in the presidential elections. A pretext for the self-dissolution of the Sejm might be the referendum on the new constitution. The possibility cannot be ruled out that the SLD would win so many seats in parliament that it could form a cabinet without the help of any other party. Even the SLD might get scared by such an "excess of riches."

Even though appearances are being kept up, there will be no peace in the coalition. Over the next few weeks, the PSL will be testing various options, including the possibility of forming a new coalition with the other parliamentary groupings (except the SLD).

NIK Accuses Central Bank of Impeding Inspection

WS2811145795 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 28 Nov 95 p 24

[Report by "QUB": "NIK Versus NBP; Controversy Over Bank Secrets"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Janusz Wojciechowski, president of the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK], claims that the National Bank of Poland [NBP] is hindering an inspection of the banking system. According to Wojciechowski, the central bank is denying access to information on credit accounts.

"The controversy between the NBP and NIK arose in connection with an inspection of the bank auditing system," President Wojciechowski told reporters yesterday. "The NBP claims that bank secrets also apply to credit accounts." The NIK head says this is making the oversight of the banking system impossible. Wojciechowski added that he has already appealed to the Sejm speaker for support. He did not rule out the possibility that NIK might have the issue settled by a parliamentary debate.

In a note we received yesterday, NBP Spokeswoman Renata Wisniewska stated that, according to the banking law, NIK has a right to obtain information qualified as a bank secret when an inspection shows that documents pertaining to the spending of public money are incomplete or fake. NIK, however, is demanding access to information on credited parties regardless of whether they are repaying the credits on schedule. This is why the NBP is refusing to supply that information.

The NIK head also announced next year's plans—68 major inspections are to be carried out by the Warsaw headquarters and 20 by regional divisions.

Modernization of Polish Air Force Expected

WS2411154495 Poznan WPROST in Polish 19 Nov 95 pp 30-31

[Article by Miroslaw Cielemecki: "The Grip of Lockheed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary are preparing a thorough modernization of their national air forces. This is going to cost several billion dollars. The final choice of the supplier is going to be decided more by politics than by economics.*

An absolute majority of Polish aircraft qualify for the exchange. At the beginning of the 21st century, only a dozen Mig-20's and fewer than a hundred Mig-23's will be needed. It is a fact that Poland, thinking about its own security and NATO membership, will soon have to buy dozens of new fighters.

The purchase of at least 30 modern, equipped aircraft that could decidedly enhance the combat value of the Air Force would mean spending approximately a billion dollars. This would be one of the world's biggest post-1989 armament contracts. The appetites of the aviation concerns are further wetted by their awareness of the possibility that the most serious East European candidates for NATO membership will decide to arm their air forces with similar airplanes.

The contest for the rearmament of Polish fighter aviation, announced by the Ministry of National Defense [MON], has been entered by the Americans (F-16), French (Mirage 2000), Swedes (Gripen), and Russians (a modernized version of the Mig-29).

Unofficially, it is known that the Americans expect approximately $15 million for a secondhand F-16A jet and $23 million for an F-16C. According to preliminary estimates, the Gripen would cost about $21 million and the Mig-29SE approximately $18 million. The most expensive is the French Mirage 2000: The sum of $35 million is mentioned.

It is beyond doubt that the course and results of the contest will be decided primarily by political factors. So far, the political part of the struggle for the order has been played out most skillfully by the Americans. Their trump card is that the timing of Poland's entry into NATO depends mostly on them. The question of the contract is mentioned on the occasion of almost every American state or military visit to our country.

Lockheed, the producer of F-16 airplanes and the world's major arms manufacturer, has created an influential civil and military lobby promoting its output in Poland. Jerzy Lewitowicz, a retired though still very influential air force general, has for a long time been

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

using a business card indicating that he works for the U.S. concern. Well-disposed toward the concern is also Ryszard Leja, the head of PZL [Polish Aviation Plant] Okecie and chairman of the National Aviation Council. Lockheed was also visited by officers from the Air Force and Air Defense Headquarters, most importantly by General Jerzy Gotowala, who became an ardent supporter of the U.S. offer after one such visit.

However, lately Gen. Gotowala has lost command of the Air Force. It is difficult to predict whether personal decisions will weaken the bidding position of Lockheed. The U.S. offer has many advantages: Modernized F-16C's, though they are rough contemporaries of Mig-23 fighters used in Poland, fulfill most of the required conditions. Unofficially, it is known that the Americans are ready to make big financial concessions and are considering, for example, the possibility of a leasing option or installment payments.

The Mielec factory attaches considerable hopes for the contract. They hope that the winners will be the Swedes, who have submitted an offer that is most advantageous from the economic point of view. They would like to launch the construction of their Gripens in the Mielec plant; the aircraft would then be 70-percent manufactured by the Polish aviation industry. The Swedish-Polish program would most probably be participated in by the Hungarians as well, who do not have an aviation factory. In addition, as an incentive, the Swedes would lend us more than 70 15-year-old Viggens that are being withdrawn from operational service. These are much better than Mig-21 and Su-20 airplanes used in our country, and at least as good as Mig-23 aircraft.

A pro-Swedish lobby exists in Poland that is no less powerful than the U.S. one. Sweden is trying to find new outlets for its arms. Having limited access to the alliance's markets, it seeks contacts with countries that are not NATO members. Most probably, the aviation offer is connected with other plans by the Scandinavians. Its potential failure may be due to the neutrality of Sweden; NATO tends to buy equipment from members of the alliance.

For the same reason, the chances of the Russians are not great, though their offer is, by all means, the cheapest. A lobby favorable to them is composed of a large group of people from the Air Force who have become used to Russian aircraft, as well as by the portion of the aviation industry that was sustained years ago by production for the Soviet Union. The chances of the French offer are also small—Mirage 2000 airplanes are very expensive.

Still, in the MON budget, there is currently no money for even minor purchases. SKRZYDLATA POLSKA reports that a thorough modernization of the Polish Air Force, involving the purchase of a hundred airplanes, would cost, over 30 years, $100 million per year, even if it is financed by advantageous credit. Currently, approximately $150 million are spent annually on all purchases of military equipment.

Military Plans Purchases; Fate of Iryda Unknown

WS2411135295 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 23 Nov 95 p 2

[Article by Pawel Wronski: "The Army Will Buy Alpha Jets and German Submarines; Iryda for Scrap?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The Polish Armed Forces want to buy 36 French Alpha jet training planes. "This means the end of the Iryda project and the Polish Aviation Plant in Mielec," claims Freedom Union Deputy Zbigniew Maczka.*

"No final decision has been made yet," says Defense Ministry [MON] Spokesman Lieutenant Colonel Eugeniusz Mleczak. Other sources within the ministry claim, however, that Poland also is planning to buy "a certain amount" of U-206 patrol submarines and as many as 1,200 Volkswagen jeeps. "This equipment was used by the German Armed Forces. We are buying it for a symbolic sum. It is a good deal," says a MON employee.

Deputies from the Sejm Defense Commission learned about the Alpha Jet purchase from classified materials. "This comes to me as a complete surprise," said Deputy Maczka, who raised the issue during a session of the Defense Commission. "It means that our country is giving up the Iryda. Before the elections, President Walesa wrote a letter to the plant in Mielec in which he declared his support for Iryda, and now his minister is doing something completely opposite."

The Armed Forces have been refusing to purchase the Iryda combat trainer aircraft since 1993. It turned out that their combat capabilities were not impressive.

Maczka: "Considering the costs of maintenance and the fact that the planes are used, the Alpha Jets are not much cheaper than the Iryda. In several years, when the Alpha jets are no longer used, the unmodernized Iryda will be plain scrap."

The Alpha jet is a single-engine plane that attains a speed of 990 km per hour (Iryda—940 km per hour), has a rate of climb of 57 m per second (Iryda—41 m per second), and a lift capacity 400 kg bigger than the Iryda.

We have also learned that next year MON is planning to purchase Soviet MiG-29's, used by the Czech Air Force, in exchange for our Sokol helicopters.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Government Considering 'Temporary' NATO Bases

AU2811143295 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 24 Nov 95 p 3

[MEDIAFAX report: "Romania Does Not Rule Out the Temporary Establishment of NATO Bases on Its Territory"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Romania's offer to grant logistics assistance to the multinational peacekeeping force in the former Yugoslavia will be the subject of a process of negotiations with NATO, without ruling out from the beginning the possibility of temporary establishment of NATO bases on Romania's territory, said Constantin Ene, Romania's ambassador in Brussels on Thursday [23 November] to the MEDIAFAX Agency. The Romanian diplomat mentioned that "to say now that there will be NATO bases on Romania's territory would be sheer speculation." Given the fact that Romania is an active member of the Partnership for Peace, as well as Bucharest's political option to refrain from sending troops to the neighboring countries, the government has decided that Romania's offer to NATO should include only logistics assistance, said Ene. He added that logistics assistance means assistance granted in the medical field and in the area of transportation, communication, reestablishment of the infrastructure in the region, as well as granting provisions to the multinational force for the former Yugoslavia. Likewise, Ene said that the issue of approving possible flights is certainly accepted and organized according to the agreement concluded about two weeks ago between Romania and NATO. Hungary announced on Monday [20 November] that it will allow the multinational force to use its military bases in Pecs (southwestern part of the country). The respective bases were built and used by Soviet troops until their definitive withdrawal from Hungary.

Parliament Accepts Geoana as Ambassador to U.S.

AU2911130595 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 29 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] During his weekly news conference today, Mr. Mircea Geoana, the spokesman of the Romanian Foreign Affairs Ministry, announced that the proposal forwarded to Parliament by the ministry on his appointment as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the United States was validated by the foreign policy committees of the two Parliament chambers.

PD Summarizes Vacaroiu's 'Bankrupt' Policy

AU2911093195 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 22 Nov 95 p 4

["Declaration of the Democratic Party on the Third Anniversary of the Vacaroiu Government" signed by the democratic Party Executive Bureau]

[FBIS Translated Text] Our national currency is collapsing. The economic-financial blockage is expanding, an increasing number of companies are unable to pay their debts, respectively to collect what they earned. Prices are increasing again almost at a rampant rate. The stocks of unsalable products have grown in an unprecedented way. Our trade balance deteriorates continuously as our exports become increasingly insufficient. The state's hard currency reserves are diminishing. Our GNP is well below the optimistic government forecasts, while the budget deficit exceeds the most pessimistic prognosis. Investments are practically frozen and, as a consequence of this, job openings are insufficient compared with needs. Privatization is drowning in chaos and corruption while the restructuring and retooling of companies are blocked.

The agricultural crops of 1995 are deteriorating due to the lack of adequate mechanisms to purchase it from the producers, while huge portions of agricultural land have not been sown. The budgets for education, health, culture, the army, and public order have been cut drastically, gravely impeding activity in the aforementioned sectors, which are essential for Romania's national security itself. All this is happening, while in the political domain, things are evolving in the direction of oligarchy instead of democracy; in the administrative field, there is recentralization instead of decentralization; in the economy, there is remonopolization instead of demonopolization, and our country is being pushed into international isolation. The IMF has frozen the carrying out of the loan accord concluded with Romania because our government does not implement the reform policy it pledged to do. The European Commission has suspended the loans for our education sector within the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program, which is a reaction to the irresponsible policy promoted by our government in that sector. The World Bank and the EBRD [European Bank for Reconstruction and Development] withdrew their offers to finance our programs to modernize the telecommunications system, as a response to the unjustified and corruption-generating politization our government is exercising in this field as well.

Under such circumstances, the standard of living is decreasing dramatically, so that certain population

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

categories—such as the retired, the young, the unemployed, the sick, and so on—have been brought to the threshold of misery and despair. Insecurity, both at home and in the world, as well as injustice and poverty are overcoming us.

Unfortunately, the Democratic Party [PD] was right.

The PD was right when it said that if real economy is not rapidly restructured, the relative macroeconomic stabilization, which was achieved at the beginning at this year solely by resorting to monetary measures, will go awry within the following six to nine months, leading to an even more profound economic-financial crisis than the previous one.

The PD was right when it said that the government would be unable to implement the memorandum concluded with the IMF and that its not complying with the pledges it made would lead to even more tensioned relations with that institution than if it had not assumed any pledges at all. This is why the PD abstained when the memorandum was submitted to ballot. Today one can see that the political parties that voted in favor of the memorandum, but did not implement it, are not just against reform, but also immoral.

The PD was right when it said that the promises made by the government to the trade unions, farmers, pensioners, and the students are merely lies, and after having gained a little time, the executive would renege on its promises.

The PD was right when it said that the statistical data presented by the government is false, does not reflect the truth, and is solely intended to mislead the citizens of our country and the international community. People are now beginning to wake up and the country is going through the humiliation of discovering that it is being led by a liar and corrupt government.

The PD was right when it said the so-called privatization-boosting policy is nothing but a nationwide swindle, solely intended to enrich the members of the oligarchy supporting those in power.

The PD was right when it said that the fine-sounding statements made by those who visit our country, and which the government presents as evidence of the quality of its policy, are empty words required by politeness, and are actually meant to hide their disgust over the indecent behavior of our ministers, as well as their refusal to genuinely grant us support. Indeed, for instance, despite the seemingly flattering statements made by the IMF representatives, not a single penny has arrived as yet in Romania from that institution.

The country has been brought to the brink of disaster by an incompetent government [as well as those who] kept supporting and encouraging it, who rejected the warnings of the opposition, and voted against the censure motions initiated by the latter. Only in this way, under the camouflage of lies, was it possible for us to reach the current catastrophic situation, whose real dimensions can be sketched symbolically by the [Prime Minister's] intent to sell the country's gold reserves to ensure the necessary electricity for consumption over the winter.

Let us not forget that in September 1991, when the [Petre] Roman government was ousted, despite the shock waves caused by genuine reform which was in full progress, the latter left behind it a stable economic situation (with a zero budget deficit and a national currency 10 times stronger than today,) as well as a standard of living that was incomparably higher than today's.

The Vacaroiu government, as well as the parties that support him have to assume responsibility before the Romanian citizens. In connection with this the PD is wondering whether the replacing of the Vacaroiu government by means of a new censor motion would be welcome, now, when we are so close to the end of its term and approaching elections.

The Vacaroiu government ought to carry on with its administration—which was equally fraudulent and bankrupt—until its term ends and then it ought to present its final balance sheet both to Parliament and the electorate.

The PD considers that the Vacaroiu government, as well as the parties that support it, should receive their well-deserved "censure motions" in the ballot boxes, during the coming elections, directly from the electors. The Romanian population should find time to ponder over the actions of the current PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] government as well as its allies, and to decide whether it wants to proceed along the same path, or rather whether it would be perhaps more beneficial if others were offered the opportunity to manage the grave problems of our contemporary society.

Nastase Comments on Recent PDSR Resignations

AU2811184095 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 22 Nov 95 p 2

[Report by Oana Iurascu: "Adrian Nastase Is 'Not Dramatizing' the Wave of Resignations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "I believe there will be further resignations from the party, but we should not dramatize them," Adrian Nastase, executive president of the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR], said yesterday

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

in connection with the recent wave of resignations of certain parliament members and leaders of local PDSR organizations. In the opinion of the PDSR leader, it all has to do with the "dynamics" of party life; consequently, the resignations were given "excessive coverage by the media."

Asked to comment on the situation of the Timisoara County PDSR organization, from which 10 members resigned recently, including three vice presidents of the municipal organization), the PDSR leader said that the party headquarters has indeed received a letter from the 10 members, in which they announced their resignation. However, he added, the event is not significant: "Ten left, but 300 new people joined the organization in the last three weeks." In his opinion, the complication in Timisoara is due to the "weakness shown by the local organization and the various groups that did not understand each other," a situation that will be redressed through the appointment of Dan Poenaru, president of the local PDSR organization, to the position of Timis County prefect. Pretending to ignore the accusations of corruption within the PDSR, which motivated the resignations of certain Dambovita and Olt deputies, both the executive president and Ioan Solcanu, PDSR vice president, seemed to agree that the PDSR is faced with a phenomenon caused only by the "vexation of certain parliament members for not having found their names on the new electoral lists." Mr. Adrian Nastase said that there are certain PDSR parliament members who, having become used to a certain way of life after four years of political life in Bucharest, cannot come to terms with the idea of returning to their previous jobs. They believe that the current local structures, with their new leadership bodies, do not offer them a chance at the next general elections. "Some are making waves in order to draw attention to themselves and be taken over by other parties, while others will return to their previous jobs," Adrian Nastase said.

The executive leader admitted that the PDSR staff is also partly to blamed for it: "The party's expansion has taken place in an chaotic way. We are assuming responsibility for this diminishment."

Nevertheless, Adrian Nastase was asked about the measures taken in the corruption cases noted by some of the deputies who resigned from the party. In concrete terms, he said, the prime minister's Control Corps Commission "did not uncover any major irregularities" in Dambovita County, while investigations are continuing in Olt County. According to Nastase, the PDSR National Conference, scheduled to open on 24 November, will adopt documents to "improve the party's internal mechanisms." The PDSR statute will stipulate the creation of a department for human resources, to ensure that greater attention is paid to recruiting the PDSR members, and of a control commission that can "improve the party's image through cleansing endeavors."

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

SFRY Succession Teams To Discuss Dayton

AU2811164995 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The representatives of the groups for the succession of the former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] from Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], and Croatia will meet in Ljubljana this afternoon to study the situation that has emerged after Dayton. They will review the resolution on the suspension of sanctions is rather ambiguous in the part that speaks about the release of the former Yugoslav assets. It can also be interpreted as that the FRY National Bank can now seize the finances that belong to all those who used to make up the joint state in the past. According to Milan Mejak, head of our negotiating team for succession in Geneva, all four affected countries—onto whose shoulders the Serbian side is only trying to push the repayment of debts, while, according to its interpretation, the former federation assets no longer exist and thus there is nothing to divide—will try to agree on future strategy and a coordinated action to prevent this. As is known, these are primarily the foreign currency reserves that were, at the time of Yugoslavia's disintegration, worth $6 billion and are now worth $1.5 billion. The clearing account of the former SFRY, on which there was a surplus of more than $2 billion in 1990, is also important. This account, too, was managed by the former National Bank of Yugoslavia. The meeting of the representatives of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, Croatia, and our country will take place behind closed doors.

Drnovsek, Silajdzic Sign Statement on Cooperation

AU2811163095 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The prime ministers of Slovenia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, Janez Drnovsek and Haris Silajdzic, signed a statement on cooperation between the governments of both countries today. Its purpose is to encourage the development of cooperation in the economic, financial, trade, scientific, technological, cultural and sports spheres. The prime ministers also agreed that the countries will coordinate their views regarding the succession of the former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] more closely, for which they will propose the appointment of special plenipotentiaries to their respective governments.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Federal

Romanian Prime Minister Winds Up Belgrade Visit

LD2811233295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2130 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov 28 (TANJUG)—Visiting Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu said on Tuesday that Romanian-Yugoslav trade would soon exceed one billion dollars in value.

Winding up his visit to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Vacaroiu and his host, Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic, told reporters that the two-day official visit of the high-ranking Romanian delegation had been successful and useful.

Vacaroiu said that his visit to the Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro had attained its object.

He said that special attention had been devoted to the possibility of immediate cooperation in some industries—the metal-working, machine-building, transport, food and petrochemical industries.

The two countries have undertaken to cooperate also on the international level, Vacaroiu said.

Romania will launch and support initiatives for a full normalisation of Yugoslavia's status in the United Nations, the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and other international institution, he added.

Kontic, for his part, said that Vacaroiu's visit marked the beginning of a new and dynamic phase in the development of bilateral relations, which would have far-reaching effects on cooperation in the balkans and beyond.

The suspension of the anti-Yugoslav sanctions is the biggest contribution to the peace process in the entire crisis area, stressed Kontic.

However, he added, in order that Yugoslavia should make its full contribution to the stabilisation of the Balkan region, it is necessary to regulate in full its positions in the United Nations, the OSCE and international financial and trade organisations.

Kontic said that both sides agreed that bilateral dialogue had been kept up all through the time of the sanctions and that there were no obstacles to a comprehensive development of all forms of cooperation in the more favourable period lying ahead.

He said that Yugoslavia and Romania had shown an interest in developing regional cooperation, especially in the Balkan and Black Sea regions.

Four Agreements Signed

LD2811232795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2131 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov 28 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and Romania signed four inter-state agreements on Tuesday, giving each other, among other things, the most favoured nation status in bilateral trade.

The formal signing of the documents at Belgrade's Palace of the Federation ended Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu's two-day official visit to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Federation of Serbia and Montenegro).

Ministers of Trade Djordje Siradovic of Yugoslavia and Petru Crisan of Romania signed an inter-state agreement on economic cooperation and a plan of activity of the Yugoslav-Romanian committee on economic cooperation.

Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic was present at the signing ceremony.

Yugoslav Vice Premier Jovan Zebic and Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Malescanu signed an agreement on the mutual stimulation and protection of investments in the development of economic ties.

The agreement guarantees to the investors the transfer of their investment and profits in case of non-commercial risks.

Minister Malescanu and Yugoslav Minister of Science and Technology Janko Radulovic signed an agreement on bilateral scientific and technical cooperation.

A programme of cooperation in education and culture was also signed.

Sanctions, Dayton Discussed

LD2811205195 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1110 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 28 Nov (TANJUG)—Zoran Lilic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], received Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu today, President Lilic's office has announced.

In very cordial and open talks both sides expressed satisfaction with the fact that the Romanian neighbors had sent such a high-ranking delegation to our country immediately after the lifiting of the sanctions. This is seen as yet another confirmation of traditionally friendly relations between our countries and peoples.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

The sides agreed that, as a result of the sanctions, both countries had suffered big losses and, as President Lilic put it, it is an imperative now to ensure that utmost efforts are made to speed up development, especially in the economic sphere, to overcome the damage as soon as possible and bridge the gap caused by our technological lagging behind.

It is not without pride that we wish to stress that in Dayton our delegation played a decisive peacemaking role, President Lilic said.

Prime Minister Vacaroiu endorsed this view and conveyed the greetings of congratulations from official Romania, the Romanian people, and President Iliescu, personally, on the peace that has been achieved in Dayton.

Our country will continue to work for a peaceful solution to the conflict in the territory of former Yugoslavia and will work to ensure that the spirit and the provisions of the peace agreement are strictly observed until relations are fully normalized in the region. The agreement is the result of compromises by all the sides and it does secure and guarantees equality for the Serb nation. For that reason we are pleased that common sense has finally prevailed, President Lilic said.

This creates conditions for us to turn our attention to important tasks, which is the reason for the large high-level delegation. This visit will be crowned by the signing of an agreement on economic cooperation and a series of specific agreements.

Both Yugoslavia and Romania have large economic potential and expertise that have hardly been utilized at all.

By shared effort and joint approach to other markets, by creating economic and financial associations, I believe we can soon start moving along the path of general prosperity, economic and cultural unification of the Balkans, and get closer to the developed countries of Europe and join European integrations.

Our citizens and the entire Serbian people remember the fact that even in our darkest hour Romania maintained a constant political dialogue with us, conducted good-neighborly relations and supported our efforts to secure a just and lasting peace. A number of my meetings with President Iliescu testify to this fact, President Ilic said.

We believe that the United States, the members of the Contact Group, and Europe will consistently insist on implementing the Dayton peace agreement. We expect our neighbors to lend their support and assistance in this task, so we can as soon as possible reclaim in the full sense of the word the position in international institutions and relations we are entitled to on the strength of the policy we pursue, our economic potentials, President Lilic said during his meeting with Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu.

The talks were also attended by Minister for Foreign Affairs Teodor Melescanu, Romania's charge d'affairs in Belgrade Panait Lefter, for the Romanian side, and Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs Zivadin Jovanovic and our Ambassador to Buchurest Desimir Jevtic for our side.

Cooperation Detailed

AU2811201595 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 28 Nov 95

[Report by Branka Kerkez on news conference by FRY Prime Minister Radoje Kontic and Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu in Belgrade on 28 November]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Romanian and Yugoslav prime ministers, Nicolae Vacaroiu and Radoje Kontic, said that the visit, which is the first official visit to Yugoslavia following the suspension of the sanctions, represents the beginning of a new stage in the dynamic development of primarily economic relations between the two countries.

The Romanian prime minister stressed that after numerous, open, friendly, and constructive discussions, he can say that the goals have fully been accomplished. Among many subjects that were discussed, Vacaroiu said, the agreement on exploiting the exceptional possibilities for cooperation in metallurgy, machine-building, transportation, the food industry, and the chemical and petrochemical industries is certainly the most important.

In these and other spheres of cooperation, there is a great deal of experience. Trade is expected to reach $1 billion in a very short period of time. This value is higher than what it was before the introduction of the sanctions, Vacaroiu said.

The Romanian prime minister stressed that the clear desire of both sides to establish a new dimension in bilateral relations is proof that an agreement on friendship and good-neighborly relations, which has already been prepared, will be signed very soon.

A joint appearance in some international and regional organizations and institutions has been agreed on. Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu said that Romania will support and help Yugoslavia to return to the place that belongs to it in the world.

Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic said that the fact that Romania is the first country to suspend sanctions against Yugoslavia confirms the wish for compre-

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

hensive cooperation. This visit has also confirmed this. During the visit, the two sides have concluded that very significant shifts have been made in the peace settlement of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, and that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has made the crucial contribution.

In this context, they welcomed the Dayton agreement as an extremely important historical act. So were the agreements on the Srem-Baranja region and the lifting of the sanctions, Kontic said.

The Yugoslav prime minister has stressed that the signing of agreement today has secured the preconditions for comprehensive cooperation. Romania has also supported the initiative of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for the expansion of cooperation of the countries from the Balkans, the Black Sea region, the Danube basin, and central Europe, and the transformation of the Balkans into an area of peace and cooperation, Prime Minister Radoje Kontic said.

Government, UNCHR Official Discuss Refugees

LD2811230495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1856 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov 28 (TANJUG)—Chairman of the Yugoslav Government Commission for Humanitarian Questions and Missing Persons Pavle Todorovic talked in Belgrade Tuesday [28 November] with representatives of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees about taking care of Serb refugees from Krajina and Croatia who took refuge in Yugoslavia and about the fate of the Serbs in reception centers and camps in Croatia.

Todorovic met with Deputy Chief of the UNHCR Belgrade office Adelmo Risi Valdeparo and a senior official from the UNHCR Zagreb office Jan Bolling.

A joint Yugoslav-Croatian commission for missing persons, on which an agreement was reached by the two countries' foreign ministers Milan Milutinovic and Mate Granic in Dayton, is soon to start work, the Yugoslav information secretariat said.

Following Croatia's aggression on the Repubic of Serb Krajina, early in August, some 250,000 Serbs fled from this U.N.-protected territory and 200,000 of them found refuge in Yugoslavia.

Todorovic said that the Yugoslav Government expects help from the UNHCR and the International Committee of the Red Cross so that each person who is returning knows in advance where he is going and what is waiting for him there, the statement said.

This would be a guarantee that when the decision is made not a single person would find themselves on the street, hungry and without prospects, the statement said.

Bank Governor Cited on Post-Sanction Exports

LD2411135295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1316 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov 24 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav National (central) Bank Governor Dragoslav Avramovic has said that the Yugoslav economy can realize half of its social product through export deals after the suspension of the U.N. sanctions.

Avramovic said in an exclusive interview to TANJUG that the suspension of the sanctions has enabled Yugoslavia to resume trade with foreign countries, to export its goods and earn money.

He emphasized it was important not to let firms and especially, the state, saddle themselves with foreign debts.

Avramovic warned that 'We should not incur debts before we realize what is really going on.'

We should continue to behave as if we were still poor, he said.

Avramovic said he believed that Yugoslav banks and firms would continue with efforts to reschedule Yugoslav foreign debts and secure capital.

Asked to explain the unfreezing of Yugoslav capital in foreign banks, Avramovic said that explanations which had been made available to him were not official.

According to the explanations, each country could unfreeze the Yugoslav capital in compliance with its laws but, if a legal or physical person laid a claim to a part of the capital, it would remain frozen.

That means that if the amount on a cheque to be cashed in a foreign bank was claimed by somebody alleging that his interests would be harmed if this payment was realized, (and he presented proof to this effect), the funds would remain frozen until a court of the country of the bank's origin would decide on the dispute.

The explanation especially underscores that the suspension or the lifting of the sanctions does not prejudge any claim on the part of a country created after the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia regarding funds and assets of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Avramovic underscored that it was necessary that the successor-states reached an accord to divide funds and assets, but also the commitments of the former Yugoslavia.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

The successor-states are requested to include into their national legislations a specific regulation to adequately resolve disputable claims, he said.

Asked to comment how the suspension of the sanctions would affect the implementation of the new Yugoslav economic program (program 2), Avramovic said that he had requested the Yugoslav Government to consider immediately four issues: to determine the market rate of the dinar, propose a liberal foreign trade regime, enable the National Bank to control and govern money transactions and, finally, adopt a more liberal foreign investment legislation.

He said that the program should be introduced immediately and as a whole, adding that the fourth issue was necessary to eliminate discrimination of foreign investors.

Avramovic said that parallely, National Bank experts should propose ways for the liberalization of the foreign currency regime.

He emphasized that the most important issue was to decide if Yugoslavia would urgently develop its export economy and become a country with no foreign currency problems.

This can be achieved by the maximum engagement of capital in export deals, that is, in competitive manufacturers, Avramovic said.

Bank Head Cited on Relinking Republics

LD2411131595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1229 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 24 (TANJUG)--The relinking of the Yugoslav economy with those of the former Yugoslav republics becomes inevitable after the suspension of the economic sanctions, Director-General of the Yugoslav Bank Jugobanka DD Beograd Milos Milosavljevic has said.

Speaking at TANJUG's panel discussion, Milosavljevic said that the revival of economic trends was expected to begin in the field of infrastructure.

Communications must first be established in road, railway and air traffic, PTT links and electric power systems.

The field of infrastructure will be regulated by agreements between public companies at the state level. The linking of economic subjects should also begin, but this will be slightly more difficult, especially in parts of the former Yugoslavia torn by war for the past four years.

Yugoslavia will have to make a good balance in its trade with the former Yugoslav republics, since its situation will not allow for import to exceed export, Milosavljevic said.

Serious discussions about who owes what to whom will begin with the normalization of political relations. The basic principle is that everyone has to pay for what he owes, Milosavljevic said and added that international institutions also insist on this.

Thus, in the agreement on a stand-by arrangement with Macedonia, the International Monetary Fund set a condition that final debtors had to accept their share of obligations and that the state should stand behind them as the guarantor.

Any other approach would create confusion in the debtor-creditor relations and this is why Yugoslavia too will demand that this principle be implemented.

Milosavljevic said that the payment of debts would be one of the key issues in Yugoslavia's relations with the world, now, after the suspension of the sanctions. The signing of an agreement with international financial institutions will depend on this, according to announcements.

According to federal government figures, the obligations towards foreign countries amount to about four billion dollars. With interests which have matured as of January 1 1992, they amount to eight billion dollars. The best period for buying debts is gone. Prices have increased immediately after the Dayton agreement was signed, Milosavljevic said.

Yugoslavia would certainly jeopardize current reproduction if it started to service its debt immediately without rescheduling. It is impossible to finance country's obligations created under an embargo and simultaneously revive production which the embargo has completely exhausted.

The association of Yugoslavia's banks has proposed that the federal government adopt a law or regulation under which courts could not settle law suits until the end of talks with international financial organizations about the rescheduling of the Yugoslav debt.

If we do not do so, Yugoslavia would face a total blockade of the otherwise scarce hard currency funds. Debtors can pay only if they are enabled to produce and export, Milosavljvic said.

Manufacturing Firm Signs Deal With Spain

LD2811211195 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1507 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 28 (TANJUG)—The first foreign deal following the

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

suspension of the U.N. sanctions against Yugoslavia was contracted on Tuesday [28 November] at the Yugoslav Chamber of Commerce.

The 15-million-dollar contract was signed by the manufacturer of joinery and equipment Domis of Cacak, western Serbia, and the Spanish firm APP.

Domis will export windows to Spain. In the first year the value of its exports will amount to three million dollars, five million dollars in the second year and seven million dollars in the third year.

The signing was attended by Serbian Industry Minister Oskar Fodor, Yugoslav Chamber of Commerce President Mihajlo Milojevic and the ecomonic advisor at Spain's Embassy in Belgrade, Rigobert Cordera.

Cordera said that Spanish busnessmen have decided to get aquainted with the Yugoslav market because it provides huge possibilities for cooperation.

Serbia

SPS Relieves Jovic, Markovic, Vucelic of Duties

AU2811211095 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Main Committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] has decided at its session today that the SPS Third Regular Congress is to be held in Belgrade on 2-3 March 1996.

The congress, whose working name will be "Serbia in the Year 2000, Step Into the New Century," will be devoted to the issues of economic and cultural development of the republic, and the inclusion of our country in the European and world integrational processes.

The Main Committee has formed a committee to prepare the SPS Third Regular Congress. The president of the committee is Nikola Sainovic.

The Main Committee has relieved Borislav Jovic and Mihajlo Markovic of their duties in the Main Committee, and Milorad Vucelic of his duties in the Executive Council.

Nikola Sainovic and Milan Milutinovic have been elected members of the Main Committee. Zoran Lilic has been elected vice president of the Main Committee.

Gorica Gajovic, Dragan Tomic, Mirko Marjanovic, Branislav Ivkovic, Nikola Sainovic, and Milan Milutinovic have been elected members of the SPS Executive Council.

The Main Committee has concluded that Bosko Perosevic, vice president of the SPS, should head the Vojvodina SPS Provincial Organization, Branislav Ivkovic, vice president of the Belgrade City SPS Branch, should head the Belgrade SPS, and Jovan Babovic, secretary of the Vojvodina SPS, should head the SPS of Novi Sad.

The committee for preparation of the SPS Third Regular Congress comprises all members of the Executive Committee of the Main Committee and the presidents of regional SPS committees.

SPS Reportedly Ends 'Cooperation' With JUL

AU2511195695 Belgrade TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 22 Nov 95 p 4

[Unattributed report: "SPS Leadership Has Decided: There Will No Longer Be Dual Memberships, There Will Be No Coalition With JUL at the Next Elections, and Those Socialists Who Stay With JUL Will Have To Return Their Posts"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Flirting by some members of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] with the Yugoslav Left [JUL] is over!

At the next parliamentary elections (when they take place), the SPS candidates will not appear on the joint election lists with the JUL representatives. Dual "registration" for the SPS and JUL has also stopped being tolerated recently, a TELEGRAF source close to the ruling party in Serbia claims.

There have been many different and divided views in favor and against the "cooperation" hitherto between the SPS and JUL. As our high-ranking source claims, a definite stand has been taken that there should be no fierce discussions now "when discussions are being held about peace, the fate of the Serbian people, and the future borders" in order not to put the membership in a dilemma to split itself or in the position of having to chose between the JUL and SPS.

It has also been decided that all those SPS members who have in the meantime "enrolled" in the JUL could return without any consequences. Those who want to stay in the JUL can do so but must give up their SPS membership. If they had held any important posts in the SPS, they will have to return these posts!

That something serious is happening in the SPS is confirmed by the fact the membership cards are being replaced. TELEGRAF has been told that over a half of a million membership cards have been printed on very good quality material, that the cover has rose imprinted on it, and that every SPS membership card has been "signed" by Slobodan Milosevic.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Our sources claim that membership cards have been printed abroad, that a "fairly large amount of money" has been set aside for this, and that this was "necessary."

Montenegro

Djukanovic, Romania's Vacaroiu Discuss Cooperation

AU2811165795 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Nov 95

[Report by Miodrag Vukovic from Podgorica]

[FBIS Translated Text] Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu is today visiting Montenegro where he has held talks in Podgorica with Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic and his host, Montenegrin Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic. Miodrag Vukovic reports:

[Vukovic] In their talks, Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic and Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu assessed positively the continuity of friendly relations and cooperation between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Romania and, in this context, those between the Republic of Montenegro and the Republic of Romania. They stressed the importance of the recent visit by the Montenegrin president to Romania.

The Romanian prime minister conveyed the greetings and best wished from Romanian President Ion Iliescu to Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic.

The Montenegrin president briefed Mr. Vacaroiu on the results of the Dayton peace conference. They both expressed the view that the peace agreement and the normalization of relations in the region represent the basis for the development of cooperation in the future, something that is in the interest of all countries in the Balkans.

This afternoon, Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu held talks with his host, Montenegrin Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic. After the talks, the Romanian prime minister made a brief statement for journalists, in which he said, among other things, the following:

[Begin Vacaroiu recording in Romanian with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] Allow me to express my pleasure and the pleasure of the Romanian delegation at being here in Montenegro. This was an opportunity for us to hold talks about specific issues regarding development and bilateral relations between Romania and Montenegro as a state within the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This was also an opportunity to hold constructive talks. We have discussed issue regarding development in Romania and Montenegro in this very complicated moment.

The emphasis in these talks was on the development of economic relations, trade, and joint work in the process of economic reforms. At the same time, we have put into practice some proposals regarding cooperation. This refers to metallurgy, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, transportation, the textile industry, and other branches such as wood processing, the development of transportation links and sea and river hauling, and other spheres important for the development of the two countries. [end recording]

President, Romanian Premier Discuss Dayton

LD2811212795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1424 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Podgorica, 28 November (TANJUG)—The president of Montenegro, Momir Bulatovic, received Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu in Podgorica today.

As announced, in the talks the two sides assessed as positive the continuity of friendly relations and cooperation between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Romania and, in that framework, between Montenegro and Romania.

The importance of the recent visit by the president of Montenegro to Romania was also noted in the talks.

Prime Minister Vacaroiu conveyed greetings and best wishes from his country's president, Ion Iliescu, to President Momir Bulatovic.

During the meeting today President Bulatovic briefed his guest on the outcome of the peace conference in Dayton. The two sides agreed that the peace agreement and normalization of relations in the region would provide foundations for developing future cooperation, which is in the interest of all the states in the Balkans.

Kosovo

Rugova Calls For International Administration

AU2911122295 Zurich BOTA SOT in Albanian 29 Nov 95 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Independent Kosovo Is the Optimal Solution"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prishtina, 28 November [QIK]—Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the republic of Kosova, yesterday received Elizabeth Rehn, the UN human rights special envoy for former Yugoslavia, and her associates.

Chairman Rugova briefed Mrs. Elizabeth Rehn on the grave situation in Kosova and the forms of systematic

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

repression and discrimination that the Serbian regime is perpetrating in Kosova.

Dr. Rugova acquainted the UN special envoy with the political project to resolve the Kosovar issue and the desire of the leadership of the Kosovar people to reach a solution in a peaceful way and through political means.

President Rugova stated that an independent and neutral Kosova, open to Albania and Serbia, would be the optimal solution and would calm both the Albanians and the situation in the region. Dr. Rugova reiterated that he has demanded that Kosova be placed under an temporary international civil administration to avoid conflict and create the preliminary conditions to resolve the Kosova issue peacefully.

UN Human Rights Envoy Concerned About Tensions

AU2811204395 Paris AFP in English 2022 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov 28 (AFP)—The UN human rights rapporteur for ex-Yugoslavia, Elizabeth Rehn, said here Monday she was "very concerned" about the effects of ethnic tension in the Serbian province of Kosovo.

Speaking after a two-day visit to the region, which is more than 90 percent ethnic Albanian, she told a news conference it was "quite obvious very serious, really serious incidents have happened."

Kosovo's Albanians want independence from Belgrade and tens of thousands of police are deployed in the region to cool inter-ethnic tension.

However Rehn said she had been given "numerous documents" by human rights groups and heard the personal accounts of Albanians claiming they suffered at the hands of the police.

When she quizzed Kosovo's Serb prefect, Aleksa Jokic, Monday about reports of rights abuses and police brutality, he said there had been "no repression" against the Albanian population, she added.

However the same day she met Kosovo Albanian leader Ibrahim Rugova who denounced the "regime of intolerable repression and violence practised by the Serb authorities."

Rehn said she was "very concerned about the terribly big difference in opinion and views between Serb authorities and Albanians, especially regarding the very important questions of education and health care."

Young Albanians are boycotting official schools and parents are refusing to have their children vaccinated by Serb medical teams. Rehn said the Serbs had offered to help but had been turned down.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

BULK RATE
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
PERMIT NO. 352
MERRIFIELD, VA.

This is a U.S. Government publication produced by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS). Its contents in no way represent the policies, views, or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

FBIS collects, translates, disseminates, and analyzes foreign open-source information on behalf of the U.S. Government. Its publications may contain copyrighted material. ***Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.***

— Bracketed indicators before the first sentence of each item describe the way in which the material was processed by FBIS.

— Headlines and all bracketed explanatory notes are supplied by FBIS.

— Personal and place names are rendered in accordance with the decisions of the U.S. Board on Geographic Names as adapted by FBIS. Unverified names in radio and television material appear in parentheses and are spelled phonetically; words and phrases in parentheses preceded by a question mark are unclear in the original and deduced from context.

SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION

U.S. Government Customers

For a list of FBIS products, to subscribe to an FBIS publication, or to indicate a change of address contact:

FBIS
P.O. Box 2604
Washington, DC 20013-2604
Telephone: (202) 338-6735
FAX: (703) 733-6042

Non-Government Customers

Subscriptions are available from the National Technical Information Service:

NTIS
5285 Port Royal Road
Springfield, VA 22161
Telephone: (703) 487-4630
FAX: (703) 321-8547

New subscribers should expect a 30-day delay in receipt of the first issue.